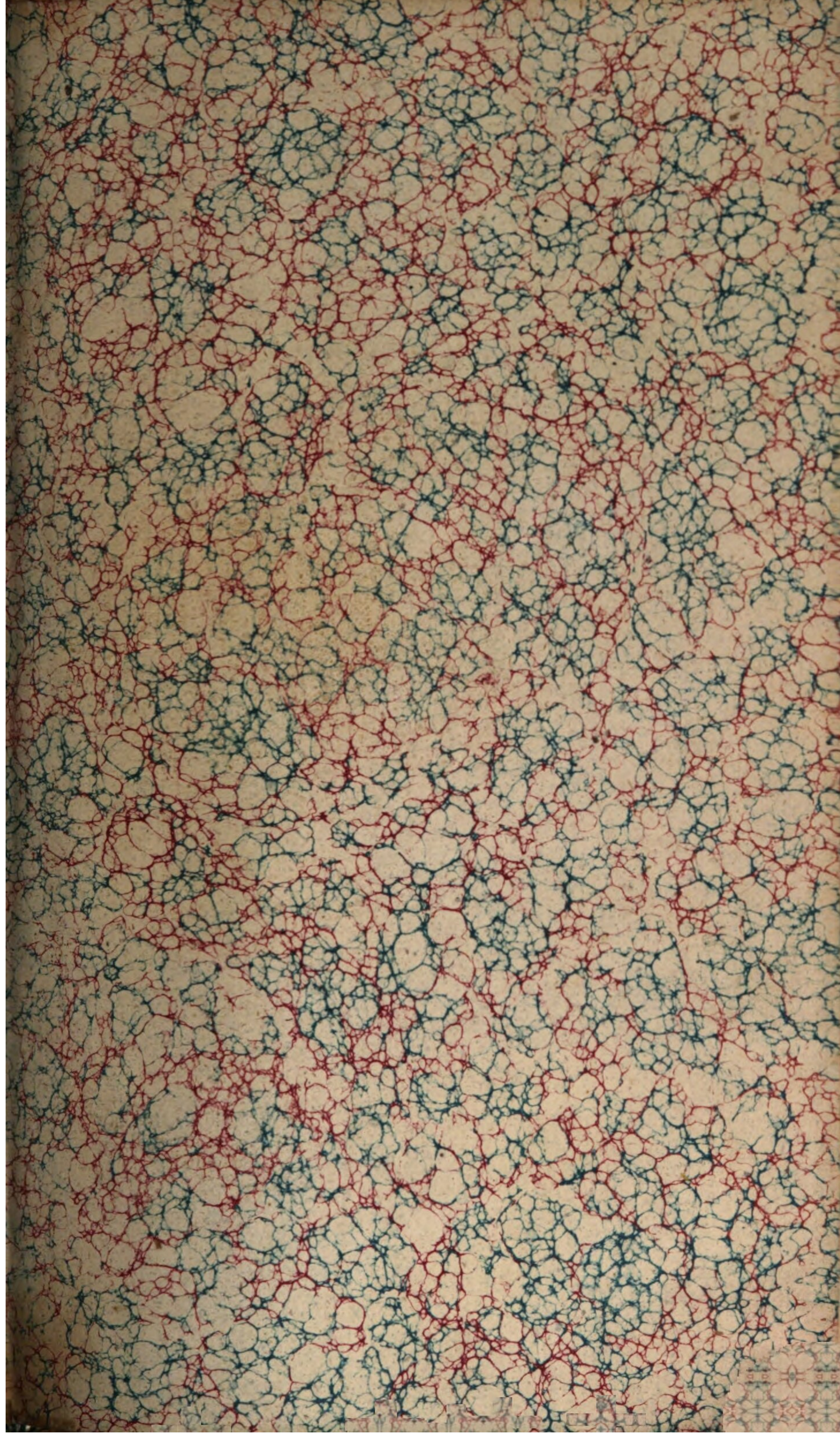


Ex bibliotheca
Steph. Quatremeri.



A. Gr. b. 2463

Philostratus

Bg

APOLLONIUS OF PERGIA

TRIGONOMETRY

PHYLLOTRACIA

AND OTHER WORKS

BY THE REV. EDWARD THOMSON

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

<36629976910013

S

<36629976910013

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

THE
LIFE
OF
APOLLONIUS OF TYANA,
TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK OF
PHILOSTRATUS.

WITH
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE REV. EDWARD BERWICK,
VICAR OF LEIXLIP IN IRELAND.

THE FEAR OF OFFENDING FOOLS HAS MADE MANY MEN OF UNDERSTANDING UNHAPPY; AND THE AMBITION OF APPLAUSE HAS MADE MANY GREAT MEN COMMIT GREAT ERRORS.

Philosophical Visions.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. PAYNE, PALL MALL,
BY J. M'CREERY, BLACK-HORSE-COURT.

1809.

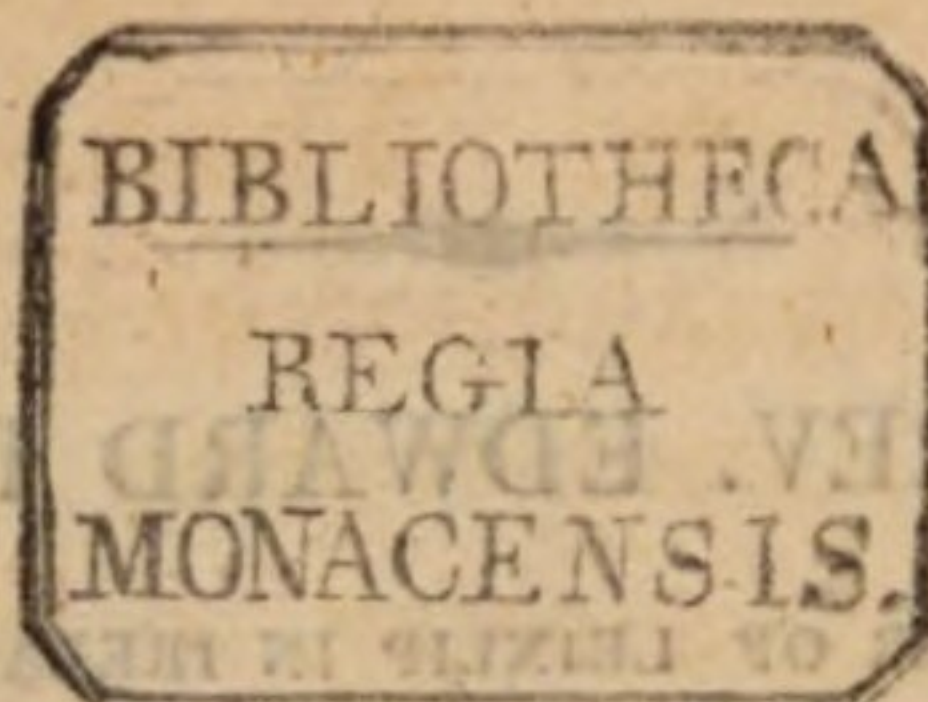
THE
LIFE
OF
APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK OF

PHILOSTRATUS

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS



THE REAR OF OFFENDING EYES HAS MADE MANY MEN OF COURAGE
DERIVING UNREST; AND THE AMBITION OF APOLLONIUS
HAS MADE MANY GREAT MEN COMMIT GREAT ERRORS.
Philosophical History.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. PAYNE, FLEET STREET,
BY J. WILKINSON, ST. MARK'S LANE.

1803

TO THE READER.

THE Life of Apollonius of Tyana, which is now for the first time presented entire to the consideration of the English Reader, was compiled by Philostratus about the year of Christ 210, at the desire of Julia Domna, wife to the Emperor Severus. Flaccus Philostratus, the writer of it, was the son of Verus, and had the title of *Sophist* conferred on him for his superior eloquence. According to some writers he was born in the isle of Lemnos, but according to others, in Athens, where he taught rhetoric, and composed many speeches and ingenious tracts. From Athens he passed to Rome, where he was soon received into the society of the literary men, who then frequented and adorned the court of the Empress Julia.—From her, he says, he obtained whatever documents had been communicated to her by the friends of Apollonius, relative to his life and opinions, and which, at her particular request, he not only revised, but *embellished* in the manner they are at present to be found.

Mr. Gibbon, in speaking of the Empress Julia, says, "She applied herself to letters and philosophy with some success, and great application; and was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius." The same elegant writer, in speaking of her husband, adds, "that he was passionately addicted to the vain studies of magic and divination, was deeply versed in the interpretation of dreams and omens, and perfectly acquainted with the science of judicial astrology." In a court which patronized such studies and pursuits, we are not surprised to learn that the talents of Philostratus were encouraged, his skill in rhetoric applauded, and the wishes of the Empress obeyed with alacrity. A woman like Julia, attached so much to letters, was naturally desirous of knowing every circumstance respecting so extraordinary a person as she might have been informed Apollonius was, in whose particular character were combined all the leading features and prevailing sentiments then so fashionable in the court of her husband. Philostratus was a passionate admirer of Pythagoras, and as such must have had great pleasure in bringing into public notice and esteem, the character of one who was so strict and zealous a follower of the rules and maxims of the enlightened Sage of Samos. His history of Apollonius he composed in eight books, which have been translated at different times into Latin; but the translation of Olearius,

in the beginning of the last century, is to be preferred to all the others, on account of the care and fidelity with which it is executed. It was translated into Italian so early as the year 1549, and printed at Venice by Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari.—In 1611, Frederick Morel, at Paris, revised and corrected the French translation of Blaise de Vigenere of 1609, and published it in two volumes quarto, with a very ample commentary by Artus Thomas Sieur D'Embry.—A new translation has lately appeared in French, in four volumes duodecimo, dedicated to Clement XIV. to which is added a literal translation of all the notes that are to be found in the English version of the first two books by Mr. Charles Blount, in 1680, who, in his preface to the same, says, he had translated the whole, but was prevented from publishing, by reason of the outcry raised against him of the danger which was to follow its publication. The truth is, it was considered at the time (but in my opinion erroneously) as so dangerous an attempt to injure the Christian religion, that it was soon suppressed, so that few copies of it then got abroad.—Yet, notwithstanding the alarm excited, it appears to me, that whatever danger was to have followed, (of which there was none) must have arisen from the peculiar nature of the notes with which it is furnished, almost all of them being of so deistical a tendency as to make it supposed they were written by the fa-

mous Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and not from a faithful translation of the text, which I think perfectly harmless. In saying this, I feel myself supported by the sentiments of the judicious Dr. Lardner, who, after examining and weighing the opinions for and against the tendency of the work, supposes it written as a counterpart to the life of Pythagoras, and free from any direct allusion to the life of Christ.* Even in such parts of his work as might be supposed to bear on particular passages in the history of our blessed Saviour, neither the language (save in one solitary instance) nor the artless simplicity of the scriptures, are so much as followed.—Nothing can be imagined, says Mr. John Leland, more different than Philostratus's manner of writing, stuffed with rhetorical flourishes and vain ostentations of learning, is from the plain sober narrative of the evangelists, which hath all the characters of genuine unaffected simplicity, and a sincere regard for truth.

Dr. Lardner observes, he was confirmed in his opinion by perusing the judicious reflections of Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford, on the charac-

* Gibbon allows that, “tho’ ancient stories of Pythagoras and Aristeas, the cures performed at the shrine of Æsculapius, and the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana, were frequently oppose to the miracles of Christ; yet he agrees with Dr. Lardner, in thinking, that when Philostratus composed his Life of Apollonius, he had no such intention.”

ter of Apollonius, and his history as written by Philostratus. To the above opinions I can add those of the learned and liberal compilers of the new Biographical Dictionary, in confirmation of my own opinion, who say in their account of Apollonius, that Dr. Lardner has fully shewn that Philostratus did not write his life with any reference to that of Christ, and that his design was to exhibit this philosopher as a counterpart to Pythagoras. As such, they conclude, he is doubtless to be considered, and we shall not, I think, pronounce unfairly concerning him, if we assert that in him were united the characters of both the sage and the impostor.

From fairly weighing the sentiments of the aforesaid learned and judicious scholars, and from a careful perusal of the work itself, I agree with them in thinking it written after the style and manner in which the Life of Pythagoras is written; that a faithful translation of the work cannot do the least harm to the Christian religion, and that all the supernatural tales* related

* Accounts of supernatural events found only in historians by some ages posterior to the transactions, and of which it is evident that the historian could know little more than his reader, offer no evidence that is satisfactory or can be depended on. This judicious observation of Mr. Paley, deserves the utmost attention, as it applies with considerable
force

in it are false, and founded on the miracles ascribed to Pythagoras by his fanatical followers. Had Lucian written the life of Apollonius, as he did that of his pupil, Alexander, the pseudo-prophet, little or no alarm would ever have been excited in the breast of either Christian or Pagan. However, the English reader may now form an opinion for himself, and judge of the man, and the design Philostratus had in writing it: he has, for the first time, an opportunity of perusing the whole life in his own language, accompanied with such notes and observations, as may in some respect tend to illustrate, and render it more intelligible. Should it be asked why this history should be now given to the English reader, after having been so long withheld from him, I will first give in answer the reasons which induced Meric Casaubon to think

force to the miracles ascribed to Apollonius in the following *solitary* history, published by Philostratus *above one hundred years after his death*, and in which, whether the writer had any prior account, depends upon his *single unsupported* evidence. Besides, continues the same learned writer, accounts of supernatural events published in one country, of what passed in a distant country, without any proof that such accounts were known, or received at home, can offer no evidence that is to be depended on. This distinction, he adds, disposes of the aforesaid miracles of Apollonius, most of which are related to have been performed in India, of which no evidence remains, that either the miracles ascribed to him, or the history of those miracles, were ever heard of in India.

it ought to be better known than what it is, and next, those which *but ostensibly* engaged Mr. Charles Blount to offer his translation to the public. I say *but ostensibly*, for Blount's real design, it is well known, was to use the text of Philostratus as a vehicle to convey a deep digested series of notes and observations, which, in the vain imagination of his heart, he thought would injure the Christian religion, but which only tended, as all such impotent attacks have done, to serve it, and to exalt the character of its Divine Author, and humble that of its feeble and wicked opponent: for feeble and wicked must that man be, whose real design is to cast the slightest reflection on a religion "*which from Heaven proclaimed peace on earth, and good will amongst all its inhabitants.*"

Though the books of Philostratus, says Casaubon, contain many fabulous things, as any man may expect from the undertaking, yet they have so much truth and variety of ancient learning, that I think they deserve a more attentive consideration than what has fallen to their lot. I thought, writes Blount in his Preface, the many descriptions in Philostratus of remote countries and former customs, so different from our own; the various hints of ancient history, wherein our author is esteemed authentic, as well as the philosophical discourses on the subject of morality, might be not only entertaining, but useful to every reader that perused

him. Besides the aforesaid reasons, which I deem, independent of others, fully sufficient to justify the undertaking at this day, I thought the want of such a translation a defect in English literature, and in some respects a reflection on the liberal and enlightened character of the country. I thought it also necessary to lay before the English reader an entire translation of the whole history of Apollonius, to enable him the better to form his opinion of the character of the man, it being the only account of him which was referred to about a century after its appearance, in preference to all others, by Hierocles, who first endeavoured to draw a comparison between Christ and Apollonius, and which account was fully admitted by Eusebius in the reply he made to his foolish and impious attack. Next I wished to shew the fallacy of the comparison, which could only fairly be done by a perusal of the whole life, from which I think it will appear, that Apollonius was one of those cunning impostors, who, by his superior skill, could perform certain wonderful things, for the purpose of acquiring character and consequence among the vulgar, and that it was in the light of a magician he was considered by his two contemporaries, Lucian and Apuleius, of whom the one says, his false prophet was educated in his school, (and from the pupil we may judge of the master) and the other ranks him amongst the most celebrated magicians.

I have only now to add, that had any English translation of the work existed, I should not have undertaken the present one, which is submitted with the greatest deference to the public, in the hopes that it will fully serve to set in its true light the character of Apollonius, and to wipe away an uncandid insinuation of Mr. Gibbon, who seems glad (as he does on every occasion) to fix a stigma on the Divine Author of our religion: an insinuation which I believe he never would have made, had any translation of the work been extant in his own language, to which the reader might have had an easy access. The insinuation I allude to, is couched in a note* to the first volume of his Roman History, in which he wishes to confound the character of our blessed Saviour, with that of an impostor

* “ *Apollonius of Tyana,*” says Gibbon, “ *was born about the same time as Jesus Christ. His life (that of the former) is related in so fabulous a manner by his fanatic disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, or an impostor.*”

A sneer, which is but an expression of ludicrous scorn, is the favourite and general weapon with which Mr. Gibbon throughout his whole history assails the character and religion of Christ: but the imbecility of this mode of attack, (for it cannot be termed any thing like argument) is always best exposed by a simple recital of the real circumstances attending the case against which his sneer is directed. I trust the truth of this will appear by the following account of the man whom the historian of the Roman empire, so unbecomingly, and irreverently, compares to that of our blessed Saviour.

and a magician, though the dissimilarity, in every point of view, is so great between the two persons, that one is surprised how the liberal candour of a gentleman, and a scholar, could adopt it, and give it to a discerning public. In fine, if I should succeed in removing this unfair and unfounded imputation, I will think myself well repaid for the time and trouble expended in this work.

N. B. Since I wrote the above address to the reader, I have read the learned and liberal criticism of Doctor Douglas, late bishop of Salisbury, with which I have been much edified; and though a slight difference of opinion exists between his lordship and me, respecting the object with which Philostratus compiled his history, none whatever, I am happy to say, exists respecting the character of his hero.

E. B.

*Essex, near Leixlip,
September, 1809.*

THE LIFE,

&c.

BOOK I.—CONTENTS.

Observations on the Doctrine of Pythagoras, &c.—

Country of Apollonius—his Birth—Education, Progress in the Pythagorean Philosophy—Residence in the Temple of Esculapius—Death of his parents—Goes to Antioch—Meets Dames at Ninus—Goes to Babylon—Interview with King Bardanes—Conversation with the Magi—Sets out on his journey to India.

CHAP. I.

THEY who commend* Pythagoras the Samian, say of him, that before his birth in Ionia, he was Euphorbus† at Troy; and that after his death at that place, which is recorded by Homer, he returned again to life. They add,

* Whoever is desirous to understand fully the character of Apollonius, as given here by Philostratus, should read with care and attention all that is written of Pythagoras, of whom he was a strict follower and rigorous disciple. The best accounts of Pythagoras, and his philosophical tenets, are to be found in Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, among the ancients; and in Stanley's *Lives of the Philosophers*, and Brucker's *Historia Critica* among the moderns.

† Homer, in the 17th book of the *Iliad*, describes the death of Euphorbus, and the simile by which he illustrates his beauty and sudden fall is exquisitely fine. From Porphyry and Iamblichus it appears, that

that he rejected the use of all clothing made from the skins of animals, and abstained both from eating and sacrificing them. He never polluted with blood the altars of the Gods, to whom he offered cakes of honey, and frankincense, and hymns; for such oblations he knew were more acceptable to them than whole hecatombs, and the sacrificial knife. He conversed with the Gods, and learnt from them, how men may do what is pleasing to them, and how the contrary. Hence he spoke of the nature of things as a man inspired: for he said other men guessed only of the divine will, but that Apollo had visited him and declared his Godhead. Pallas and the Muses, he also said, had conversed with him, without declaring who they were, and other deities whose names and aspects were not as yet known to mortals. Whatever was taught by Pythagoras, was observed as a law by his disciples, who revered him as a man come from Jove; and the silence he enjoined was most vigilantly adhered to by them, with a zeal which a doctrine so sublime merited; for whilst it continued, they heard many things of a divine and mysterious nature, which would have been difficult for them to retain and comprehend, had they not first learnt

that Pythagoras admired the verses so much, that he had them set to the harp. His admiration of them probably induced him to say, that his soul transmigrated to him from that hero. Pope has well translated them.

‘ As the young olive, in some sylvan scene,
 ‘ Crown’d by fresh fountains with eternal green,
 ‘ Lifts the gay head, in snowy flow’rets fair,
 ‘ And plays, and dances to the gentle air;
 ‘ When lo! a whirlwind from high heaven invades
 ‘ The tender plant, and withers all its shades;
 ‘ It lies uprooted from its genial bed,
 ‘ A lovely ruin, now defac’d and dead.
 ‘ Thus young, thus beautiful, Euphorbus lay,
 ‘ While the fierce Spartan tore his arms away.’

CHAP. II.

APOLLONIUS, who engaged in like pursuits and studies, devoted himself to philosophy with a more divine enthusiasm than Pythagoras. He vanquished tyrannies, and lived in times neither remote nor modern, and yet he is not recognised by that true wisdom which he cultivated with such a chaste philosophical spirit, and is amongst men still mentioned with various praise. Some consider him as one of the Magi, because he conversed with the wise men of Babylon, and the Brachmans of India, and the Gymnosophists of Egypt, and even his wisdom is reviled^{wh} as being acquired by means of the magic art; so erroneous are the opinions formed of him. Whereas, Empedocles, and Pythagoras, and Democritus, though they conversed with the same magi, and advanced many paradoxical sentiments, have not fallen under like imputation. Even Plato, who travelled into Egypt, and blended with his doctrines many opinions collected there from the priests and prophets, like a painter who improves his sketches with new colouring, incurred not such a suspicion, though envied above all men on account of his superior wisdom. The faculty Apollonius possessed of foreseeing and foretelling many things, should not call in question his wisdom, else might Socrates* be arraigned for the information he received from his demon, and Anaxagoras† for

* Ammianus Marcellinus ranks Apollonius among those eminent men who have been assisted by the supernatural aid of a dæmon, or genius, as Socrates or Numa.

† Read the life of Anaxagoras in Diogenes Laertius and Stanley. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Anaxagoras, instructed in the science of Egypt, foretold the falling of stones from Heaven, and that there should be earthquakes, in consequence of the mud which he perceived on the surface of the wells. B. 22. c. 16.

that silence* itself was the beginning and rudiment of wisdom. This mode of philosophizing, it is said,† Empedocles of Agrigentum pursued, who says in some of his poems, “Farewel, my friends, mortal I shall be no more,” and also—“A boy I was, then did a maid become.” Besides,‡ the ox which he made of honey and barley, and sacrificed at Olympia, shews that he approved of the system of Pythagoras. Many other things are related of the followers of Pythagoras which I think not now necessary to notice, as I am anxious to go on with my proposed narrative.

* The το σιωπᾶν λόγος of Pythagoras is illustrated by what Claudian says in speaking of the consulship of Mallius Theodorus, u

“Quicquid Democritus risit, dixitque tacendo
Pythagoras.”——

Isocrates acknowledges the force of the above expression, Solomon says, “the words of wise men are heard in quiet.”

† For an account of Empedocles see Diogenes Laertius, Stanley’s Lives of the Philosophers, and Brucker’s Historia Critica.

‡ Plutarch says Pythagoras sacrificed an ox on the discovery of a certain mathematical proposition; now as we know that Pythagoras abstained entirely from the shedding of blood, the ox he sacrificed to the Gods on that occasion must have been of the same composition with that of Empedocles. Porphyry says, Pythagoras offered an ox in sacrifice, not a living ox, but one made of paste. Athenæus reports in like manner, that Empedocles, a disciple of Pythagoras, having been crowned at the Olympic games, distributed to those who were present an ox made of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of aromatic drugs.

his predictions. For who is ignorant that the latter, during the olympic games, at a time when there was not the least appearance of rain, entered the stadium wrapt in a thick woollen cloak, under the full conviction of a shower, that he foretold the fall of a certain house, that day should be turned into night, and that stones should fall from Heaven at Ægos-Potamos;* and does not every one know that these things happened according to his predictions? and yet they who ascribe the predictions of Anaxagoras to his superior wisdom, act not very consistently in depreciating the wisdom of Apollonius, and in saying he performed all by the means of magic?† I have therefore thought it proper to oppose the ignorance of the multitude, and to examine minutely the character of the man both as to what he said and did, together with the times in which he lived—and to mark that peculiar mode of philosophising, by which he acquired the reputation of being not only under the influence of a demon, but of being divine.‡ The history I mean to give of the man has been drawn in part from the cities wherein he was held in high esteem, in part from the temples whose long disused rites he restored, in part from what tradition has preserved of him, and lastly from his own epistles, which were addressed to kings, and sophists, and philosophers—to Eleans, Delphians, Indians, and Egyptians, all written on the subject of their deities, countries, morals, and laws: it being his constant practice to redress whatever he found wrong.

* Ægos-Potamos, a river in the Thracian Chersonesus, situate to the north of Sestos. Pliny mentions a stone, “ad ægos flumen qui etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudine vehis colore adusto.” L. 2. c. 58. He says Anaxagoras foretold its falling from the sun.

† Eusebius says, that in his time there were persons who pretended to perform magical incantations by invoking of Apollonius.

‡ Eusebius, in his refutation of Hierocles cites him ascribing to Apollonius a divine and hidden wisdom, by which, and not by magical art, he had performed great wonders.

The most probable account I have been able to collect from the above sources, will appear in the following relation.

CHAP. III.

THERE was a certain man named Damis, who was well read in philosophy, a citizen of the ancient Ninus,* who became one of the disciples of Apollonius, and wrote the account of his travels, wherein he set down his opinions, discourses, and predictions. A person nearly allied to Damis introduced the empress† Julia Augusta to a knowledge of his commentaries, which till then were not known; as I was a good deal conversant in the imperial family from the encouragement given by the empress to rhetoric and its professors, she commanded me to transcribe and revise these commentaries,‡ and pay particular attention to the style and language; for the narrative of the Ninevite was plain, but not eloquent. To assist me in the work, I was fortunate in procuring the book of Maximus§ the Ægean, which contained all the actions of

* I shall speak of Ninus in a future note.

† Some account of the empress Julia is given in the preface to the reader, for further particulars see Gibbon's Roman history, vol. i. c. 6. Severus, the husband of Julia, died, A.D. 211, and his wife, after experiencing all the vicissitudes of fortune, put an end to her own life about the year 218.

‡ They were now, says Mr. Charles Leslie, to be adapted to the ears of an empress, who loved rhetoric, alias, romancing, and fine stories. Meragenes's Commentaries, adds he, were not so romantic as those of Damis, and consequently not so fit for the entertainment of an empress, besides, it is supposed Meragenes considered him as a magician.

§ Of Maximus Ægiensis, and Meragenes, little is known execept what is found in the text, the writings of the latter were perhaps not favorable

Apollonius at Ægæ, and a transcript of his will, from which it appeared how much his philosophy was under the influence of a sacred enthusiasm. I also happened to meet with the four books of one Meragenes, which were not of great value on account of the ignorance of the writer. I have now explained the manner of my collecting my materials, and the care taken in their compilation. I trust the work may do honor to the man who is the subject of it, and be of use to the lovers of literature, inasmuch as it will introduce them to the knowledge of things with which they were before unacquainted.*

favorable to Apollonius, and on that account were not valued by Philostratus, who appears through this whole work to be more the panegyrist, than the historian of his life. From the accounts given of Damis and Meragenes, Lardner is inclined to think that Philostratus used only such materials in his history, as were to the advantage of his hero. Philostratus's principal author, Damis, is an obscure person, his memoirs were unknown, till brought to the empress Julia; his friend who brought them is not named. Meragenes's four books were little regarded, probably from not being favorable to his hero. From such sources, must not the accounts be uncertain and deserving of little credit. Naudæus, in his history of magic, considers this whole history, dressed up as it is by the pen of Philostratus, in the same light, as are at present the love-stories and romances which have been written for the entertainment of queens and princesses.

* But how can things be received, says Lardner, which were not known till more than an hundred years after the death of the person spoken of. So extremely slight, says Mr. Charles Leslie, is the authority on which Philostratus has introduced his history, that some learned men have, not without reason, doubted whether there ever was such a man as Apollonius. Had he been such a man as he is here represented to have been, it is not possible he could have been so totally forgotten, as that no mention should have been made of him for one hundred years after such extraordinary things were said to have been done. Is it possible, that the death of so famous a person should not have been greatly noticed? and his sepulchre honored and visited?

CHAP. IV.

APOLLONIUS was born in Tyana, a town founded by Greeks in Cappadocia. He was called Apollonius from his father, his family was ancient, and might be traced to the original settlers. His fortune was considerable, but the country abounded in riches. Whilst his mother was with child of him, Proteus* the Egyptian god appeared to her, who, as Homer writes, has the power of assuming such a variety of shapes. The woman without being much alarmed, asked him what she should bring forth? to which he replied, Thou shalt bring forth me. This you may suppose excited her curiosity to ask again who he was, and he said the Egyptian god Proteus. But why need I mention the great wisdom of Proteus to those who have learnt from the poets his various and versatile transformations, the great difficulty in seizing him, and how he seemed not only to know, but to fore-know all things. It is however necessary to mention him, since it will appear in the sequel of this history, that Apollonius had a foreknowledge of what was to come to pass, much above Proteus; and was wont to solve many things which were difficult, and almost impossible to human capacity, and particularly at the time when he seemed to be most reduced to his *ne plus ultra*.†

* Homer gives us a very particular account of Proteus in the 4th book of his Odyssey. His story, which has been always considered as a subject of just ridicule by the dealers in fiction, is agreeably laughed at by Lucian in his Dialogues.

† On which Du Pin observes, "Ne voit-on pas clairement que cette apparition de Protée à la mere d'Apollone, est une fable de l'invention de Philostrate."

CHAP. V.

APOLLONIUS is said to have been born in a certain meadow, near which stands a temple dedicated to him. Of the manner of his birth* no one should be ignorant. When his mother was near the time of her delivery, she was warned in a dream to go and gather flowers in a meadow; when she came there, whilst her maidens were dispersed up and down employed in their several amusements, she fell asleep on the grass. In this situation a flock of swans† that was feeding in the meadow, formed a chorus around her, and clapping their wings, as their custom is, sung in unison, all the time the air was fanned by a gentle zephyr. The singing of the birds

* Born about the latter end of the reign of Augustus.

† The idea of swans singing at the birth of Apollonius, is taken from Callimachus's hymn in *Delum*, in which these poetical birds perform the same office for Latona. The following version comes from the pen of Mr. Boyd, the elegant translator of Dante—whose character is too well known in the literary world to require any thing more than my thanks.—And

“ Thanks to men
Of noble minds is honourable meed.”—

She spoke—the swans, Apollo's plumed choir,
Upsoaring from Pactolus, with loud clang
Circled the happy island. Seven times round
They skimm'd the shores, as oft the swelling strain
Floated melodious in the winnow'd breeze.
Accordant to Latona's wailing cries
They chanted, first in favor with the maids
Of Pindus, and in harmony excelling
All the plum'd choiristers that wing the winds.
'Twas thence for every lay that cheer'd the pangs
Of his sad mother, Phœbus to his lyre
Fixt a respondent chord; again they rais'd
The heavenly concert, and the Lord of day
In jubilee was born. Sweet sung the nymphs
Symphonious, and the deep flood's solemn base,
Joined in full chorus to Lucina's praise.

BOYD.

caused her to start out of her sleep, and at that moment she was delivered of a son—premature labours being sometimes the effects of sudden alarms. The natives of the place affirm, that at the instant of her delivery, a thunderbolt which seemed ready to fall on the ground, rose aloft, and suddenly disappeared. By this the Gods prefigured, I think, the splendor of the child, his superiority over earthly beings, his intercourse with them, and what he was to do when arrived to manhood.

CHAP. VI.

IN the vicinity of Tyana is a fountain consecrated to Jupiter, whose water is esteemed the water of oaths, and is called by the natives Asbamœan.* Its source is cold, but it bubbles up as a cauldron does over a fire. The water of this fountain is mild and sweet to the taste of all who respect an oath, but to all who do not, is a present punishment, by the manner in which it affects the eyes, and hands, and feet, and by the dropsies and consumptions which are said to be the consequence of drinking it. The guilty are not able to leave it, but there are detained,

* Aqua Asbamœa—Ammianus Marcellinus confirms the reading of Asbamœa in book 23, chap. 7, of his history. “Apud Asbamœi quoque Jovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi *amplissimus ille Philosophus* Apollonius traditur natus, prope oppidum Tyana stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus seseque resorbens, numquam extra margines intumescit.”

Diodorus Siculus speaks of certain sulphureous springs at Palica in Sicily, which were something of the same nature with those mentioned in the text, he says the natives swore by their waters in the most solemn manner, and adds, that adjoining to them stood the temple of *Palici*, indigenous divinities, who were supposed to punish perjury. *Trials by fire and water* were long in use, especially, even after the establishment of christianity.

lamenting and confessing their sins.* All the people of the country say that Apollonius was the son of Jupiter, but he constantly called himself the son of Apollonius.

CHAP. VII.

WHEN he grew up,† and was capable of instruction, he gave signs of great strength of memory and persevering application. He used the attic dialect, and never suffered his speech to be corrupted by the place of his birth. The eyes of all were attracted by his beauty. When he was fourteen years of age his father carried him to Tarsus,‡ and committed him to the care of Euthydemus the Phœnician, a celebrated rhetorician. Apollonius became attached to his master, but thought the manners of the town absurd, and not suited to philosophical pursuits, inasmuch as the people of it were insolent scoffers—addicted to pleasure, and more passionately fond of fine clothes, than the Athenians ever were of philosophy. The Cydnus§ runs through it, on whose banks the citi-

* Cette relation, says Du Pin, est une episode qui n'a rien de commun avec la vie d'Apollone ; mais qui fait voir que Philostrate s'est étudié à faire entrer dans son histoire tout ce qu'il a pû apprendre de merveilleux, sans se soucier qu'il fût veritable.

† Here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the writers of his life.

‡ Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, called by Strabo the Mother of Cities, from its great learning, and which St. Paul says, was no mean city.

§ The Cydnus runs through Tarsus, and falls into the sea about a mile from its walls.

An te, Cydne, tacitis qui leniter undis

Cœruleis placidus per vada serpis aquis?

TIBULLUS.

zens are wont to sit like water-fowl; Apollonius wrote them a letter, in which he desired them to cease intoxicating themselves with water. On obtaining his father's permission he retired with his master to Ægæ,* a town in the neighbourhood of Tarsus, where he found a tranquillity more adapted to science, and studies more suitable to his years; besides a temple of Esculapius, where the God sometimes shewed himself to his votaries, and here he enjoyed the conversation of the disciples of Plato, and Chrysippus, and Aristotle. He listened to, but did not condemn the opinions of Epicurus. Those of Pythagoras he embraced with an ineffable zeal, though his master was not well read in the discipline of that philosopher, nor devoted to any efficient study. He was of an amorous temperament, and fond of good living, his manner of life was formed according to the doctrine of Epicurus, and his name was Euxenus, born in Heraclea, a town of Pontus. He knew some of the sayings—of Pythagoras, as birds know what they are taught by men. For there are some birds that can say χαίρει, and εὖ πράττει, and Ζεὺς ἰλεώς, and such like phrases of compliment—but know not what they say, neither do they mean by them any kindness to men, but only utter them from being taught such a certain modulation of sounds. As the young eagle never quits the side of its parent, when learning to fly; but grown stronger, assumes a bolder flight, sometimes soaring above her, and sometimes skimming along the ground, lured by the scent of prey; so did Apollonius, whilst a boy, submit to the authority of Euxenus, and was guided by his advice

* Ægæ, a maritime town of Cilicia, situate at the mouth of the river Pyramus, and not far from Tarsus, in which was a temple consecrated to the God Esculapius, which had a regular establishment of priests and ceremonies, and was famous through all the country for miraculous cures performed on sick persons by the God of Health.

in the ways of knowledge.* But when arrived at the age of sixteen, he became an enthusiastic disciple of Pythagoras, and a zealous admirer of his doctrine, winged thereto by a superior intelligence. Nevertheless, he always continued to respect Euxenus, and as a proof of his regard, gave him a house which his father purchased for him, with a garden and fountains belonging to it, at the same time saying, "live you in what manner you please," but for me, "I shall live after the manner of Pythagoras."

CHAP. VIII.

FROM this declaration,† Euxenus naturally supposed Apollonius had higher objects in view, and one day he asked him how he intended to begin his course of life, to which he replied, he would begin like physicians, who by means of purifying the human body, prevent distempers in some, and cure them in others. After this avowal he declined eating any thing which had life, from an idea of its being impure, and capable of weakening the understanding. He lived on fruits and vegetables, declaring that the productions of the earth were alone pure. He allowed that wine was a pure beverage, as produced from a tree not injurious to man. Howbeit, he reckoned it adverse to a composed state of mind by reason of the power it possessed of disturbing the divine particle of air of which it is

* In this account, Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in perfect resemblance of Pythagoras.

† The course of life laid down by Apollonius in this chapter and to which he adhered throughout, is exactly conformable to what was enjoined by Pythagoras to his disciples.

formed. After making this regulation in his mode of diet, he set about an alteration in his dress. He went barefooted, clothed himself in linen, and rejected the use of all garments made from living creatures. He next let his hair grow, and spent most of his time in the temple of Esculapius,* all the officers of which were astonished at his conduct, and even the God himself sometimes accosted the officiating priest, and said he had pleasure in performing his cures in the presence of such a witness as Apollonius. His fame soon spread far and near, so that the Cilicians, and all the dwellers in and about the country, came and visited him; and the saying of the Cilicians, "Whither run you so fast?" "Is it to see the young man?" first applied on this occasion, obtained the authority of becoming proverbial.

CHAP. IX.

IN writing the life of a man who was in some estimation with the Gods, I think it not foreign to my purpose to mention a transaction which took place in the temple. A young Assyrian happened to visit Esculapius, who during his illness lived in a state of great luxury. He spent his

* Esculapius rejoiced to have Apollonius a witness of his cures, that is, as Blount observes, the priests of the temple were exceeding glad to have so crafty a man as Apollonius in collusion with them. In the temples of Esculapius, all kinds of diseases were believed to be publicly cured by the pretended help of that deity: in proof of which there were erected in each temple columns, or tables of brass, or marble, on which a distinct narrative of each particular cure was inscribed. This account is confirmed by Pausanias and Strabo, and shews that no school could have been better adapted for the education of an impostor, than a temple of Esculapius.

life, or rather I would say, he consumed his life, in drinking. This youth was attacked with a dropsy, and from the pleasure he had in inebriating himself, neglected every remedy to be applied in the way of *exsiccation*. This was the reason why Esculapius overlooked him, and did not favor him with a dream.* On the youth's complaining of this usage, the God appeared to him, and said, "if thou wilt consult Apollonius, thou shalt be well." In consequence of this, the young man waited on Apollonius, and asked what benefit can I receive from your wisdom, for to you Esculapius has commanded me to make my application. *That*, answered Apollonius, which can be of most service to you in your present condition: and is not health that which you stand most in need of? Certainly said the youth, and is what Esculapius promised, but has not performed. Take care of what you say, said Apollonius. The God bestows health on all who are willing to receive it, but you on the contrary, feed your disease. You live in total subjection to your appetite, and overload with delicacies a weak and dropsical constitution, *adding clay to water*. Here Apollonius shewed a knowledge above that of Heraclitus,† who when attacked with a similar disease, said, he required the aid of one who could extract *dryness from humidity*, words of dark and difficult meaning. Whereas Apollonius, after a clear de-

* To understand this, the reader must be informed, that for the recovery from sickness, the ancients used to bring the patient into the temple of Esculapius, where he was to compose himself on a couch, and the God of the place was supposed to visit him in his sleep. Consequently, whatever the sick person dreamed of, that was thought to be the remedy prescribed by Esculapius for his recovery.

† See the life of Heraclitus in Stanley, with the account of his last illness, and his two epistles to Amphidamas.

claration of his opinion, restored the Assyrian to health.*

CHAP. X.

APOLLONIUS on a particular occasion, beholding much blood sprinkled on the altars, and many sacrifices laid thereon, together with several Egyptian oxen, and swine of immense size slain; observing the officers employed, some in flaying them, and others cutting them in pieces, also two consecrated bowls of gold filled with the most precious stones of India: when he considered what he saw, he said to the priest, what is the meaning of all this? I suppose some great man is paying his court to the deity. You will be more surprised, I think, said the priest, when I tell you that the man has not yet preferred his petition, nor stayed his fixed time, nor received benefit from the God, nor in short obtained any one of the things for which he is come, (he came I think but yesterday) and yet he sacrifices with so much generosity. He has even promised to make richer, and more splendid presents, provided Esculapius grants the prayer of his petition. I understand he is rich, and has greater possessions in Cilicia, than all the rest of the Cilicians besides: and the request I understand which he makes, is, that the God will restore him the eye he has lost. Apollonius fixing his eyes on the ground, (as his manner was in his old age) asked what his name was? which, when he heard,

* He instructed him, that the God always bestowed health upon those who were willing to receive it, and by persuading him to practise abstinence, he cured his disease. Here he attempted nothing miraculous, but merely employed the authority of the God in enforcing sound morality.

he said, I think the man should not be admitted into the temple, for he is unclean, and met with the accident in a bad cause. I am of opinion that the bare circumstance of his making such costly sacrifices before the granting of his request, proves not so much the honest sacrificer, as one who wishes to deprecate the wrath of Heaven for some enormous offence. Such was the discourse of Apollonius. But Esculapius appearing by night to the priest, said, let both him and his offerings depart together; for he is not deserving of the eye which remains.* When the priest made inquiries concerning him, he was informed that he was married to a woman who had a daughter by a former husband, that he had fallen in love with his step-daughter, with whom he lived in most scandalous commerce; that her mother, as soon as she discovered the intrigue, surprised the two in bed, and with a needle put out both the eyes of her daughter, and one of her husband.

CHAP. XI.

IN this way Apollonius shewed the propriety of offering such sacrifices, and making such presents, as should not exceed the bounds of moderation. When it was noised

* I agree with Dr. Lardner in thinking that the cure was above their ability. Hence the patient was dismissed as a profane wretch, unworthy of cure. Apollonius dismissed him as unworthy of admission into the temple; at the same time instructing the people who flocked thither, that he who comes to the temples of the all-seeing Gods, should pray, "Ye Gods, grant unto us that which is fit we should receive," and that the wicked, though they presented to the Gods the wealth of the Indies, would be rejected, because they make their offerings not to honour the Deity, but to purchase redemption from deserved punishment.

abroad, that the request of the Cilician was rejected, many people flocked to the temple. Then Apollonius asked the priest whether the Gods were just? who replied, Most just. And are they intelligent? What, said the priest, can be more intelligent than God? Apollonius proceeded, Are they acquainted with the affairs of men or not? Herein, said the priest, the Gods most excel mortals, who by reason of their manifold infirmities are not acquainted with their own affairs; but to the Gods alone it belongeth not only to know their own affairs, but the affairs of men likewise. Well and truly answered, O priest! said Apollonius. Seeing then it is allowed the Gods know all things, I think that he who approaches them with a good conscience should pray after this wise, "O ye Gods, grant what is convenient for me!" Consequently, continued Apollonius, good things are due to the good, and the contrary to the wicked. Hence the Gods, who always act right, send away him whom they find to be of a sound mind and free from sin, crowned not with crowns of gold, but with all manner of good things; and him whom they discover to be corrupt and polluted with vice, they give over to punishment, being the more offended with him for presuming to approach their temples conscious of his own unworthiness. After having thus spoken, he turned towards Esculapius and said, you, Esculapius, exercise a philosophy at once ineffable and becoming yourself, not suffering the wicked to come near thy shrines, even were they to bring with them the treasures of India and Sardis; and this prohibition is given from knowing that such supplicants do not sacrifice and burn incense from reverence to the Gods, but from the selfish motive of making atonement for their own sins, to which you will never consent from the love you bear to justice. Many other philosophical discourses of this kind were held by Apollonius whilst he was but a youth.

CHAP. XII.

ALL this happened whilst Apollonius remained at Ægæ, to which may be added what follows. Cilicia was then governed by a man of infamous conduct, whose amorous inclinations were of the most detestable kind. No sooner was he informed of the beauty of Apollonius, than he laid aside the business in which he was engaged (he was then holding a court at Tarsus) and made all the haste he could to Ægæ, where on his arrival he pretended illness, and gave out he came to consult the God. The moment he saw Apollonius, he accosted him when walking alone, and said, I pray thee to recommend me to the God. What necessity is there for my recommending you, said Apollonius, if you are good: for such as are good, the Gods love without the intercession of any advocate. But said the ruler, the God, O Apollonius, has made you his guest, and not me. Then said Apollonius, the virtue I have exercised as far as a young man is capable, has reconciled to me the God whose servant and companion I am: if you make virtue the study of your life, you may with equal boldness draw near to the God and ask whatever you please. I will do, said he, as you desire, if I am first permitted to ask one favor of you. And what is that, said Apollonius? It is that favour, replied the ruler, which alone can be asked of the beautiful, and which is, that they may grant the participation of their beauty to others, and not envy them the enjoyment of their persons. All this he uttered with the most vile tokens of a corrupt and depraved appetite. On this, Apollonius regarding him with a most stern countenance, cried out, "Wretch, thou art mad. But the other, who only listened to the violence of his passion, threatened to cut off his head. At which

Apollonius smiling, said, *O that day*.* Three days afterwards this infamous wretch was slain by the hands of the public executioner on the highway, for being privy to a conspiracy formed by Archelaus† king of Cappadocia, against the Romans. These and many other things of like kind were written by Maximus the Ægæan, who for his reputation in eloquence, was deemed worthy of being appointed one of the emperor's secretaries.

CHAP. XIII.

AS soon as he heard of the death of his father, he hastened to Tyana, and there, with his own hands, interred him near the tomb of his mother, who died some time before. The fortune left was considerable, which he divided with his elder brother, who was very dissipated, and much given to wine. The elder was in his twenty-third year,‡ a period of life which exempted him from the care of guardians, and Apollonius in his twentieth year, and of course still under their protection. After this he returned to Ægæ, where during his stay he changed the temple of Esculapius into a Lyceum and Academy, in which resounded all man-

* "O that day"—this expression, as well here, as throughout this history, always relates to the time to come.

† Archelaus, after swaying the sceptre of Cappadocia above 50 years, was at last arraigned before the senate, probably for the conspiracy alluded to in the text, and though the charge was unfounded, he died soon after of a broken heart, in the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus, an. b. ii. c. 42. A. D. 17—Apollonius was now in his twentieth year.

‡ The age of one and twenty freed youth from the power of masters and tutors, which makes Philostratus say, that Apollonius's brother being arrived to the age of twenty three, was exempted from the jurisdiction of a tutor.

ner of philosophical disputation. When he became of age, and his own master, he returned to Tyana, where it was hinted to him by a friend, that he ought to reform his brother. I fear, said Apollonius, it would look like arrogance in me, who am the younger, were I to presume to correct the elder; however, as far as it is in my power, I will try to do it. To this end he divided with his brother half his own inheritance, saying, that *he* wanted much, and himself little, and then in pursuance of his plan, he led him by degrees to the necessity of submitting to advice. Our father, said Apollonius, is dead, who used to be our instructor. What else remains now than that of our consulting each other's interest and happiness. If I offend in any thing, I request you may advise me, and I will correct whatever is wrong: and if you offend, I hope you will yield to my advice.* By such gentle treatment, Apollonius, like those who break wild and stubborn colts, first made him subject to obedience, and by degrees prevailed on him to part with his vices, of which he had full share of whatever were fashionable, as gaming, drinking, &c. to which were added a foolish admiration of his hair, which he used to dye, and an insolent and haughty air in his manner of walking. After this success with his brother,

* In this advice, which Apollonius gives to his brother, he points out the true way of conveying it with profit, for such is the nature of the mind, that it hates being passive in receiving admonition, and the generality of mankind do not easily brook the idea of the inferiority which is implied in listening patiently to preceptive lectures. There seldom is better advice given to those who would commence advisers themselves, than this practice of Apollonius, who takes the surest method of conciliating his brother's affections by requesting advice from him. In proportion as we are supposed deficient in wisdom, (a supposition on which every unskilful monitor proceeds) so far we resent the awkward attempt of the self-constituted dogmatical preceptor.

he turned his thoughts to the conversion of his other relations, and to render them more attentive to what he said, he bestowed the remainder of his fortune on such of them as stood most in need of it, still however reserving what was sufficient for his own use. He was wont to say, that Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, who left his lands to be eaten up by his sheep and oxen, read philosophy to beasts rather than men : and that Crates the Theban, who cast his money into the sea, profited neither man nor beast. The saying of Pythagoras, which was so much celebrated, “ that a man should have no connexion except with his own wife,” was intended, Apollonius said, for the use of other men, and not for him, as he was determined never to marry, nor have any commerce whatever with the fair sex. By laying this restraint on his passions, he was superior to Sophocles, who, when old, said he had got rid of a furious master. Whereas Apollonius, by temperance and virtue, subdued the wild beast in his youth, and in the vigor of life triumphed over the tyrant. Yet some still accuse him of sacrificing to Venus, and of indulging in the pleasures of love, adding, that he passed a whole year in Scythia for that purpose. The truth is, he never went to that country, nor was ever known to be enslaved to love. Even Euphrates, though he has brought many false accusations against him, as we shall shew in the sequel, never once accused him of incontinency. This Euphrates had matter of variance with Apollonius, because he laughed at him for his fondness for money, and endeavoured to withdraw him from filthy lucre, and the making a merchandize of his wisdom. But of these matters let us not treat till a more convenient time.

* Suidas affirms, Anaxagoras left his ground to sheep and camels to be eaten up ; and therefore Apollonius said, he read philosophy to beasts, rather than men. Stanley's History of Philosophy.

CHAP. XIV.

EUXENUS once asked Apollonius why he did not commit his thoughts to writing, particularly as he possessed such a fund of philosophical knowledge, and was used to such a popular and approved stile of speaking. To which he answered, that he had not exercised silence,* and from that time forward he began to put it in practice. He laid a restraint on his tongue, but he read much with his eyes, and comprehended much by his understanding, and committed all to memory, by the exercise of which, at the age of an hundred, he far excelled Simonides. There was a hymn addressed to memory, and composed by Simonides,† which used to be sung by him, in which the author says, “that time causes all things to fade away, but that time itself never fades, or grows old, being made immortal by memory.” The manner he used in expressing his sentiments during his silence, had something interesting and graceful in it, inasmuch as his eyes and hands, and the motions of his head, made significant answers to whatever was said. He never seemed morose, or out of

* As a true disciple of Pythagoras, he observed the five years silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty with which it was attended. It is said that Numa, king of Rome, who knew the advantage of silence, commanded the Romans particularly to honour one of the muses under the name of the *Silent Muse*.

† Simonides of Ceos, the son of Leoprepes, is reported to have first invented an artificial memory. See Cic. de Oratore l. ii. c. 86. He discovered that it was *order* chiefly which threw a light on memory. There are some persons who have said, that Simonides had taken medicines to procure a strong memory, and that they produced that effect. Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more valued in ancient times than at present; and that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.

spirits, and always preserved an even placid temper. He was wont to say, that this kind of life, which he passed for the space of five years, was often very irksome to him, forasmuch as during it, he had many things to say, which he did not say; heard many things of a disagreeable nature which he affected not to hear; and when provoked to anger, could only say to himself—

“Alas poor suffering heart,* support the pain

“Of wounded honour, and thy rage sustain.” POPE.

In this way he passed over with a dignified silence many injurious things uttered against him.

CHAP. XV.

THE period of his silence was passed partly in Pamphylia and partly in Cilicia. Though he travelled through countries whose manners were corrupt and effeminate, he never uttered a word; no, not even a murmur escaped his lips. Whenever he entered a town, which happened to be in a state of noise and uproar (and many were so on account of the vain shews and illaudable spectacles exhibited in them) he always pressed forward into the croud, where presenting himself, he shewed by his countenance, and the waving of his hand,† the reproof he intended to express: the consequence was, the tumult ceased, and all kept a silence, as if engaged in the most mysterious ceremonies of religion. But little merit he took to himself for preserving peace amongst men clamorous only about

* Homer, *Odyssey*. B. xx. l. 18.

† The Reverend Gilbert Austin, in his ingenious dissertation on *Rhetorical Delivery*, has adduced this waving of Apollonius's hand, as an argument to prove the effects of the eloquence of the hand, without the aid of language.

horses and pantomimes; for they who are inclined to riot on such accounts, whenever a man of gravity appears, blush and condemn themselves, and soon return to their right mind.* But the matter is very different, when a city sore oppressed with famine, is to be appeased by mild and persuasive language, and to be disarmed of its anger; and yet in the instance which I am going to mention, the silence of Apollonius prevailed with a people who were enraged, and well disposed to mutiny. On coming into Aspendus, a city of Pamphylia (it is situate on the banks of the river Eurymedon, and holds the third rank among the cities of the country) he found the inhabitants existing on whatever pulse could be purchased, and whatever other things necessity compelled them to use for the support of life. All the corn was hoarded up by the more wealthy, in order that they might sell it out to foreigners at whatever price they might please to put upon it. The people both young and old were stirred up against the governor, and were preparing to burn him alive, if even found at the feet of the statues† of Tiberius, which were then more

* Tum pictate gravem, ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.

Ille regit dictis animos, ac pectora mulcet. VIRGIL.

Such a one must *speak*, says Bayle, if he hopes to stop the fury of a mutinous people. But here Apollonius had no need of words, his Pythagorean silence did all that the finest figures of oratory could effect. His talent was as different from that of Virgil's pious orator, as a mummer's from a wise justice of peace.

“If some grave Sire appears amid the strife,

“In morals strict, and innocence of life,

“All stand attentive; while the sage controls

“Their wrath, and calms the tumult of their souls.”

† Tacitus says, that the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name obtained protection, and that slaves, after lifting their hands against their masters, found an asylum—An. b. iii. ch. 36. Suetonius says, this kind of process grew to such a height, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change cloaths near the statue of Augustus, &c. TIB. c. 58.

feared, and afforded greater security, than the statues of Jupiter at Olympia, insomuch that a man, in his reign, was accused of impiety for beating a slave who happened to have in his possession but a silver drachma stamped with the emperor's image. Apollonius, approaching the governor, asked him by waving his hand, what was the matter? who replied, that he was guilty of no injustice, that he was wronged along with the people, and must perish with them if not allowed to speak. Then Apollonius, turning to the populace; shewed by a sign, that the governor must be heard. On which an immediate silence ensued, the people stood in awe of Apollonius, and the fire was replaced on the altars which were prepared for sacrifice. When the governor saw this, he took courage, and cried out, "It is this, and that man (mentioning several citizens by name) who have produced the present scarcity, it is they who have hoarded up the corn, which at present is concealed in different parts of the country. When the Aspendians heard this, they began to stir up each other to sally forth into the country, and take it by force; but Apollonius by a sign prevailed on them not to act so; he advised them to summon the guilty, and take the corn from them with their own consent. As soon as the monopolisers arrived, he was almost tempted to break through his silence, moved thereto by the tears of the multitude: for the women and children flocked together, and even the old men wept, as if just ready to drop down with hunger. However, his respect for his law of silence had effect, and he wrote on a tablet the reproof he wished to convey, and gave it to the governor to read aloud.

APOLLONIUS

To the monopolisers of corn in Aspendus,

GREETING.

"The earth is the common mother of all, for she is just. You are unjust, for you have made her only the

“mother of yourselves: and if you will not cease from
 “acting thus, I will not suffer you to remain upon
 “her.”

Intimidated by these words, they filled the market with grain, and the city recovered from its distress.*

CHAP. XVI.

APOLLONIUS, as soon as he fulfilled his law of silence, came to Antioch, sir-named the great, and entered the temple of Apollo Daphneus,† to whom the Assyrians apply the Arcadian fable, saying that Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, was metamorphosed in this place; for they have a river called Ladon, and the laurel into which, it is said, the virgin Daphne was changed, and which is held by them in high estimation. Cypress trees of an immense size grow round the temple, and the country abounds in refreshing springs of water, wherein Apollo is accustomed to bathe. The soil here is that which first produced the cypress, in commemoration of the Assyrian youth Cyparissus, and the beauty of the tree gives credit to the change. I fear I may be considered as not treating my

* “Quelque apparence qu’ il y ait que tout cela est de l’invention de Philostrate, en supposant que la chose est arrivée comme il la raconte, elle prouve seulement qu’ Apollone étoit un homme adroit et prudent, et qui avoit des manieres propres à s’insinuer dans l’esprit du peuple.”—Du Pin.—L’Histoire D’Apollone.

† From the text it might be supposed that the temple of Daphne was in Antioch, when it was in fact five miles distant from it. For an account of the temple, and the sacred grove, see Gibbon, who has described both in his usual style of luminous eloquence. The words of Ammianus Marcellinus relative to the situation of Daphne are, “Tunc apud Daphnen amœnum illud & ambitiosum Antiochiæ Suburbanum, &c.

readers with sufficient respect, by alluding to such puerile stories, but they are only noticed for what is to follow. Apollonius perceiving that this temple stood in a pleasant situation, but that no rational worship was performed in it; and that it was in the possession of a people semi-barbarous, and enemies of all science, he said, O Apollo, change these mutes into trees, that they at least may make some noise like the cypresses." Also, when he saw how still and noiseless were the fountains, he said, "The torpid silence that reigns in this place, does not even suffer the waters to murmur." Then turning his eyes to the Ladon, he cried, "not only was thy daughter changed, but thou thyself from having been a Greek and an Arcadian, art become a barbarian." Afterwards, when he was resolved to discourse with them, he avoided all promiscuous multitudes, and places of much resort, saying, it was not the company of illiterate rustics he sought, but that of men. In consequence of this determination he frequented places more retired, and made his abode in whatever temples he found open. At sun-rise he performed apart from all, certain ceremonies, which he communicated only to those who had exercised a quadrennial silence. Whenever he visited a city which happened to be of Greek origin, and was in possession of an established code of religious worship, he called together the priests, and discoursed to them concerning the nature of their Gods; and if he found they had departed from their usual forms, he always set them right. But when he came to a city whose religious rites and customs were barbarous, and different from others, he enquired by whom they were established, and for what they were intended: and afterwards in what manner they were observed, at the same time suggesting whatever occurred to him as better and more becoming. Next he visited his followers, and commanded them to ask what they pleased, telling them that they who cultivated philosophy in the manner he enjoined, should in the morn-

ing converse *with* the Gods, at mid-day *concerning* the Gods, and in the evening of *human affairs*. When he had answered all the questions proposed by his friends, and talked as much as he thought sufficient, he addressed the multitude, with whom he always discoursed in the evening, but never before noon. After he ended these discourses, he had himself anointed and rubbed, and then he plunged into the cold bath, saying, that hot baths were the old age of men. To the people of Antioch who were forbidden the use of the hot baths, on account of their crimes, he said, that the emperor had given them long life for their wickedness; and to the Ephesians who were going to stone the master of the baths for not having made them hot enough, he once replied, you accuse the master of the baths for your not bathing to your satisfaction, but I accuse you for your bathing at all.

CHAP. XVII.

APOLLONIUS used a style of speaking not elevated, nor swoln with the language of poetry, nor yet one too refined, nor too Attic; for whatever exceeded the Attic mediocrity, was considered by him as dissonant and unpleasant. He made use of no fastidious nicety in the division of his discourses, nor any fine-spun sentences; nor was he even known to adopt an ironical manner, nor any kind of apostrophising with his hearers. He spoke as it were from a tripod*—to wit, *I know*, and *It seems to me*—

* To speak from a tripod appears to have been a proverbial expression. Atheneus, in the 2d chap. of his 2d book, says, the prize of the victor in all sports in honour of Bacchus is a tripod: because we say that he speaks from a tripod, who speaks truth. A tripod is the property of Apollo, on account of the truth of his oracles, and is also that of Bacchus, on account of the truth which is the consequence of drinking wine.

and to *what purpose is this, and you must know.* His sentences were short and adamantine—his words authoritative, and adapted to the sense, and the bare utterance of them conveyed a sound as if they were sanctioned by the sceptre of royalty. Being asked once by a subtile disputant why he did not propose what side of a question he should take in argument?—he replied, when I was a young man, I used to follow that practice, but that it was no longer necessary, as it was now become his duty not to investigate, but to teach the result of his investigations. When he was asked by the same logician, how a wise man should speak, he said, as a legislator, for it was the part of a legislator to command the multitude to do, what he himself was convinced ought to be done. In this way he conducted himself at Antioch, and converted many who were strangers to all knowledge.

C H A P. XVIII.

AFTER this he resolved to extend his travels, and visit the Indies, and the wise men of that country who were called Brachmans, and Germanes;* saying, it was the business of young men to travel, and make themselves known in foreign lands. To converse with the magi, who inhabit Babylon and Susa, and to learn all they knew, he considered would be cause sufficient for undertaking the journey. He then disclosed his intentions to his companions, seven in number, who, as they thought differently on that subject, endeavoured to divert him from going. On this he said to them, “I have consulted the

* Germanes were a cast of the Gymnosophistæ (a common name for Indian philosophers) who led a solitary life in the woods, abstaining from wine and women, and using many severities.

Gods, I have declared to you their will, to make trial of your courage, whether you will go with me or not; and since I find you have not resolution to go, I bid you farewell, and desire you may study philosophy. It is my duty to go where wisdom and my demon lead me." After this declaration, he departed from Antioch, attended only by two domestics of his own family, who were expert scribes, the one eminent for the dispatch with which he wrote, and the other for the beauty of his handwriting.

CHAP. XIX.

ON his coming to the ancient Ninus,* he found a statue erected after a barbarous taste. It was Io, the daughter of Inachus, whose horns appeared small, and just as if budding. Whilst he remained in this city, and learnt all he could of the statue from the priests and prophets, he met with Damis, whom I have noticed in the beginning of this book, as his fellow-traveller and companion; and one to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of many particulars concerning Apollonius. The Ninevite soon became attached to him, and being fond of travelling, said, Let us go—" *God shall be your guide, and you shall be*

* This *ancient Ninus*, from the account given of it here by Philostratus, must have been situate some where between Antioch and Zeugma, on the Euphrates, and cannot refer to that which stood on the banks of the Tigris, and was destroyed 700 years before Christ. In the following passage from Ammianus Marcellinus, the town itself appears marked out as in Commagena, a district of Syria. "Commagena nunc Euphratensis clementer assurgit, Hierapoli, Vetere Nineve, & Samosata civitatibus amplis illustres." Now what place can be understood by the *Vetere Nineve* of Marcellinus in Commagena, except the *antiqua Ninus*, the birth-place of Damis, and the town visited by Apollonius on his way from Antioch to Zeugma.

mine. I think I may serve you on the journey, for if I know any thing, it is the road leading to Babylon, together with the towns and villages on the way, wherein can be found any accommodation, it being not long since I returned from thence. I am, besides, acquainted with the languages of the barbarians,* namely, the Armenians, Medes, Persians, and Cadusians. But, my friend, returned Apollonius, I know them all myself, though I never learnt them. Whilst Damis stood in amaze at what he heard: do not be surprised, continued Apollonius, at my knowing all tongues, for I know the very thoughts of men, even what they do not say. When Damis heard this he adored him, considering him as a demon.† He then became a proselyte to his opinions, and whatever he learnt from him, he did not forget. This Assyrian had some eloquence, though from his education among barbarians, ignorant of all the rules which constitute elegance in writing. Yet his observation of whatever was either said or done in company, was acute, and he kept an exact account of all that passed, which appears from a book he wrote called the *Apolloniana*.—Damis was desirous to

* If Apollonius knew all the languages of the several nations mentioned in the text, Eusebius says, he must have been an apt scholar, and possessed of an excellent memory. When we add to this, that he afterwards attained to the knowledge of the language of brute animals, we must say, that the man who undertakes that, may ascribe what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without any fear of confutation: but when he goes further, and says he understood the very thoughts of men, we can only laugh at his presumption, or at Philostratus's folly in taking notice of it. If Damis was such a simpleton as to believe all this, we need not be surprised at his adoring him, and taking him for a demon. Dr. Jortin supposes he could speak a little of several languages, for he was, says he, a man of parts, and a strolling vagabond.

† The French translator has a note which marks the difference of feeling between himself and Damis—it is this “J'avoue ma malice ; je me serois mis à rire, & j'aurois pris Apollonius pour un fou.” Damis thought otherwise, “Maluit esse Deum.”

learn every thing of Apollonius, and as desirous to put down in his book every circumstance, however minute and trifling. The answer he made to one who condemned this kind of writing was neat and apposite. It was to an envious impertinent fellow who said that there were some things he wrote of Apollonius well enough, particularly his opinions and sayings, but that the crumbs he collected, put him in mind of the dogs that eat of whatever falls from their master's table. To this criticism Damis made the following reply: if the Gods have feasts, and eat at them, they have also attendants who wait on them; and whose business it is to take care that none of the ambrosia be lost. Such was the friend and companion by whom Apollonius was accompanied during a great part of his life.

CHAP. XX.

WHEN our travellers were passing into Mesopotamia, the publican at the bridge of Zeugma* carried them to the toll-books, and asked what they brought with them. To whom Apollonius said, I bring with me temperance, justice, continence, fortitude, patience, and many other virtues, which he called by feminine names. The tax-gatherer, who thought of nothing but his fees, said—he had written down the names of his maids—but returned Apollonius, they are not maids—they are mistresses, who travel with me.† Mesopotamia is formed by the Tigris and Euphrates, two rivers running out of Armenia, and the farthest parts of mount Taurus, and encompassing the

* Zeugma, a town on the Euphrates, the great pass from Syria to Osroene, the northern district of Mesopotamia: the two countries being joined by a bridge, as is intimated by the name.

† Ce conte, says Du Pin, sent bien la fiction, et paroît inventé par Damis, ou par Philostrate.

and in which are some cities and many villages. It is inhabited by a people who came from Armenia and Arabia, and who being shut in by these rivers,* wander up and down without any fixed habitations. They look on themselves so much as *islanders*, that they use the phrase of *going down to the sea*, whenever they go to these rivers, within whose course they have fixed the boundaries of the earth, because these rivers, after having formed the country we are speaking of, run into the sea.† Some writers say that a great part of the Euphrates disappears in a marsh, and is lost under ground. But others, adopting a bolder language, assert that after it disappears in Mesopotamia, it rises again in Egypt, and mixes with the waters of the Nile. To preserve greater accuracy in my narrative, and omit nothing material noticed by Damis in his journal, it was my intention to give a particular account of the manner in which Apollonius spent his time among the barbarians, but my subject calls me to higher and more wonderful objects. Yet two circumstances are not to be cursorily passed over, first the fortitude which supported him in travelling through countries that were barbarous, and infested with robbers, and unsubdued by the Roman arms; and next, the wisdom which led him after the manner of the Arabians, to make himself acquainted with the language of animals. This knowledge he acquired when amongst the Arabians, who of all people are best versed in its theory and practice; for augury is still in credit with them, and the divination by birds‡ is as much respected

* Called in the text *Nomades à permutandis pabulis*,—that is, as Pliny says, *mapalia sua, scilicet-domos plaustriis circumferentes*.

† We know now that the rivers unite at Apamea or Corna, into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, and run into the Persian Gulf, about one hundred miles from the junction. D'ANVILLE.

‡ He understood the speech of birds

As well as they themselves do words :

Could

by them, at that by oracles. This talent is obtained according to some, by their feeding on the heart, and according to others, on the liver of dragons.

CHAP. XXI.

AFTER passing beyond Ctesiphon,* Apollonius entered the territories of Babylon, where he was met by the King's guard, whose orders were to let none pass without examination; and having first answered the questions, "who they were," "whence they came," and "the cause of their coming." The officer who commanded the guard, was by way of distinction called one of the king's-eyes,† for the Mede,‡ who had lately obtained the supreme power, was not as yet fully settled on his throne, and from being alarmed at every flying rumour, whether true or false, had fallen into a state of perpetual apprehension. In consequence of this vigilance, Apollonius and his com-

Could tell what subtlest parrots mean
That speak and think contrary clean:
What member 'tis of whom they talk,
When they cry rope, and walk knave, walk.

HUDIBRAS.

Inveterata fuit gentilium opinio, inter se colloqui Bruta et eorum sermones a multis intelligi: unde ars vel interpretandi voces animalium; in quâ excelluisse dicuntur apud veteres, Melampus, Tiresias, Thales Milesius, Apollonius Tyaneus.

* Ctesiphon, a city of Assyria, on the east side of the Tigris, opposite to Seleucia.

† It appears from Apuleius, that the faithful friends of the Persian kings were called *aurēs regiæ*, and *imperatoris oculi*.

‡ The Mede—called *Bardanes Arsacida*; it may be noticed here that the names of Persian, Mede, and Parthian, are often confounded in history. This Bardanes, or Vardanes, was the son of Artabanus, whose story is told by Tacitus, in the 6th and 11th book of his annals; he succeeded to the throne in consequence of the misfortunes which befel his two elder brothers, Arsaces and Darius.

panions were carried before the Satrap, who just at that moment was taking the air in his palanquin. As soon as he saw the squalid, meagre figure of the man, he screamed out in fright like a woman, and covered his face. At length, when he ventured to look up, he addressed him as a demon, and asked, "whence art thou sent to us?" From myself, replied Apollonius, to instruct you to become men, in defiance of yourselves. Then the Satrap asked who he was, who dared to enter the King's dominions? To this Apollonius calmly answered, the whole earth is mine,* and I have leave to go wherever I please through it. When the Satrap heard this, he said, if you answer me not explicitly I will put you to the torture. To this Apollonius said, "O that the punishment were to be inflicted by your own hands, that you might pay the merited penalty for daring to touch such a man. The eunuch, astonished at finding that the man required no interpreter, and that he comprehended and answered every thing without the least hesitation, changed his voice and manner, and adjured him in the name of the Gods, to say who he was—As you condescend, said Apollonius, to ask me with so much civil courtesy, hear then who I am. I am Apollonius of Tyana, I am going to the King of the Indians, to learn from him what is doing in that country. I should be glad to see your King, for all who have conversed with him, say he is not without virtue, and I am inclined to credit this report, if it is Vardanes who has just recovered his lost kingdom. He is the very man, divine Apollonius, returned the Satrap, (for of you we have heard long ago;) and he is one who would resign his crown to a wise man; and will take care to have you and your companions forwarded to the Indies, each mounted on a

* This expression is agreeable to the Cynic and Stoic paradox, which says, that the wise man possesses all things; *Sapienti omnia esse*

camel.* For my part I make you my guest, and offer you these treasures (at the same time he shewed him heaps of gold) to take what you please, not only once, but ten times. When the governor found he refused the money, he said, take I pray thee this Babylonish wine,† it is of that kind which the King gives to his ten satraps. Besides, I request you may take these pieces of roasted swine and goat; and also some flower and bread, and whatever else you please: for the journey you are about to undertake is one of many stadia, wherein are many villages, but indifferently supplied with accommodations. The eunuch was shocked the moment he recollected the way in which he was going to entertain a man, whom fame represented as abstaining from all animal food and wine. But Apollonius without being offended, said, you may treat me sumptuously, if you provide me with bread and herbs. I will give you, continued the eunuch, leavened bread, and dates‡ from the palm-tree, that are large and resemble amber; and herbs, the growth of the gardens of the Tigris. Apollonius said, he would rather have the herbs that grew wild and spontaneously, than what were forced and

* Qui croira, says Du Pin, que la reputation d'Apollone, encore jeune, qui n'etoit jamais sorti de la Grece, eut déjà été portée en Babylone, y fut déjà si publique et si bien établie, qu'un Satrape lui fit tant d'honneur sur son seul nom, et le traitât du premier abord d'homme divin.

† Babylonish wine—the produce of the palm-tree; it is the wine which Pliny says is in general use all over the East, and is that which is given by the King to his ten Satraps. The whole empire under the Parthians was divided into nineteen kingdoms, of which eleven were called the *Upper*, and the remainder the *Lower*. The ten Satraps belonged to the Upper Kingdom, and it is probable that two kingdoms had but one Satrap.

‡ Atheneus speaks of the beauty and size of the dates, and says they resembled amber in their color. Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, mentions the same. The learned Kæmpfer, Gibbon says, has exhausted the whole subject of palm-trees.

artificial, as he did suppose they were sweeter. Sweeter, do you say, said the Satrap, I fear the soil about Babylon abounds in wormwood,* and tends to make the vegetables bitter and unpleasant to the taste. At last Apollonius, out of respect to the Satrap, made use of these words when he was taking his leave of him,—“Cease not from doing good, but I say also, begin by doing good.” By this he rebuked him not only for the threat he held out of the torture, but for the very uncivil language he at first used to him.

CHAP. XXII.

AFTER this our travellers continued their journey, and proceeding about twenty stadias, lighted on a lioness just killed in the chase, that was one of the largest ever seen in these parts. The people from the neighbouring villages, and even the huntsmen themselves, gathering all around, raised a loud cry as if they had beheld something wonderful. And indeed it was so, for when the lioness was opened, there were found eight young ones in her belly. It is said the lioness carries her young six months, and brings forth only three times in her life. At her first litter she has three, at the second, two, and if she has a third, but one, which is, I suppose, larger, and more ferocious than usual. No credit is to be given to those writers, who say that the young whelps† gnaw the wombs of their mothers in order to set themselves at liberty: for I think no doubt can be entertained but that nature has formed a mutual attachment between the parent and her

* Absynthium, wormwood, called by Dioscorides βαθυπικρον á profundo amaro.

† This story of the young lions treatment of their mother, is taken from Herodotus. Thalia, chap. 108.

young to preserve the species. As soon as Apollonius saw the beast, he remained long without uttering a word; at length he opened his mouth, and said, O Damis, the time we are to stay with the King, will be just a year and eight months. He will not suffer us to go sooner, and I do not think it would be proper for us to depart before the expiration of that period: as the number of the months may be conjectured* from that of the young, and the year, from the mother, for things perfect in themselves, can be only compared with what are perfect. But what, said Damis, will Homer's† sparrows say to all this? I mean the eight devoured at Aulis by the serpent, and the mother that made the ninth; for certainly Calchas in his interpretation of that prodigy, foretold a war of nine years at Troy. It therefore behoves us not to have our stay extended to the same length, according to the calculation of Homer and Calchas. Whereupon Apollonius said, Homer (it is true) compared the young of the sparrow to years, and he did so, because they were born, and in possession of life; but in the case before us, the young are imperfect, unborn, and perhaps would never have seen the light; and why should I compare them to years? for the irregular productions of nature are not easily brought forth, and if they are, they soon perish. But mind, Damis, what I say, and let us continue our journey without ceasing to offer up our prayers to the Gods who shew us such signs.

* Wonderful mystery, truly.

† Homer's Iliad: 2d. Book. "Tout cela," says Du Pin, "est qu'un jeu d'esprit, et une pensée imaginée apres coup, pour faire valoir ce trait d'Homere, et faire paroître de l'erudition."

CHAP. XXIII.

WHEN he was drawing near Cissia, after entering the province of Babylon, he had the following vision in his sleep, prepared by the deity who communicated it. He thought he saw some fishes cast on the shore panting for breath, who complained like mortals, and bewailed the element they had lost. They looked as if imploring the aid of a dolphin, who was swimming near them, and seemed as much to be pitied as men in exile, deploring their hard fortune. Apollonius, without being at all moved by the dream, considered with himself what it might signify; however, to frighten Damis, who was of a timid nature, he affected to be alarmed as to what it might portend. This was successful, for Damis, terrified as if he had seen the result, advised him not to go farther, and said, we may perish like those poor fishes, driven from our houses, and may lament in a strange land, and perhaps, if we fall into great straits and difficulties, may be forced to apply to some prince or potentate for assistance, who will treat us, as those fishes are treated by the dolphin. Apollonius with a smile said, you are not yet a philosopher, Damis, if you were, you would not be alarmed at such things as these; but attend, and I will give you the explanation of the dream. The people who inhabit the district of Cissia; are the Eretrians,* who about five hundred years ago were carried away by Darius from Eubea, and who like the poor fishes in the dream, are

* Darius settled the Eretrians at Ardericca, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations, 210 stadia from Susa. See Herodotus, Erato, chap. 119. This visit of Apollonius to Arsaces Bardanes, was about the year of Christ 50, according to Col. Rennel; but according to Olearius not so late as 50.

now mourning their captivity; having been like them as it were taken in a net. The Gods therefore seem to command me to take all the care I can of them; for peradventure the souls of the Greeks who were cast by fate on this land, have invited me hither for their benefit. Let us then turn out of our way, and make enquiries for that well,* near which, it is said, they dwell. The well is composed of bitumen, oil, and water, and when drawn up and poured on the ground, its component parts separate, and may be distinguished from each other. That Apollonius was in Cissia is witnessed by himself in his letter to the Clazomenian Sophist, for he was of such a mild generous disposition, that the moment he saw the Eretrians, he put the Sophist in mind of them, and gave him an account of their situation, which he afterwards referred to in his letters. Through the whole of the epistle he exhorts him to pity the Eretrians, and not to omit shedding tears for them, whenever he made their condition the subject of a declamation.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE account we are to give of the Eretrians, corresponds exactly with what Damis has written of them. They dwell in the country of the Medes, not farther from Babylon than what a speedy messenger might go in one day. The country is without cities, for in Cissia are to be found only villages and hamlets: the wandering tribes by which it is inhabited are called Nomades, who seldom or ever alight from their horses. That part of it occupied by the Eretrians, lies in the interior of the country, and is in-

* There is a particular account of this well in Herodotus, chap. as aforesaid.

closed by a river, which serves them as a rampart against the inroads of the barbarians. The land abounds with bitumen, which renders all its vegetable productions unwholesome. The natives are short-lived, for as the water is impregnated with this unctuous matter, it leaves a noxious sediment in the stomach. Their principal food is derived from a hill, adjoining the village, which on account of its being higher than the surrounding waste, is sown with corn, as its soil is esteemed good. There is a tradition among the natives, that seven hundred and eighty Eretrians were made prisoners, of whom all were not fighting men, because in that number were included some old men and women, and I suppose children. A great part of the Eretrians, we are informed, fled to the promontory Caphæreus, and the mountainous regions of Eubœa; but about four hundred men and ten women came to Susa; the mortality which began after their leaving Ionia and Lydia, having caused the difference to fall away in proportion as they advanced farther into the country. As the hill we have mentioned supplied them with quarries of stone, and as many among them were acquainted with the art of cutting it, they built temples after the models of the Greeks, and a forum suited to their circumstances. They likewise built altars, two in honor of Darius, one in honor of Xerxes, and many to Daridœus.* From the time of their captivity, till that of Daridœus, passed eighty-eight years. The manner of their writing was after the Greek fashion, and their ancient sepulchres were inscribed thus—"Here lyeth such a one, the son of such a one." The characters are in Greek, but our travellers said, they never saw such before. The inscriptions engraved on their tombs were all expressive of the several professions which

* Who this Daridœus was, I have not been able to learn from any of the commentators.

they followed in Eubea, one, to wit, followed the trade of a ferryman, another that of a murex-fisher, another of a sailor, and a fourth a dyer of purple. They found also some elegiac verses inscribed on the tomb of certain sailors and pilots, to the following effect. "We who formerly ploughed the deep Ægean, lie here in a strange land in the midst of the Ecbatani. Farewel land of Eretria, of old renowned. Farewel Athens, near Eubea, and farewel sweet sea." Damis writes that Apollonius repaired the mouldering sepulchres, and built an enclosure round them—that he offered libations, and performed all rites due to their manes without victims, and the shedding of blood.—Damis adds, he wept, and in the sadness of his heart uttered these words in the midst of them. "O ye men of Eretria, who were carried here by the decrees of fate; though far from home you obtained a grave; but they who cast you on this land, perished unburied about your island ten years after your captivity." Apollonius at the end of his epistle to the sophist, says, O Scopelianus,* though young, I have not neglected your Eretrians, and have done all the good I could to the living and dead. But in what way did he render any service to the living? I will tell you. The barbarians who lived in the vicinity of the hill of which we have spoken, used to come in the summer and carry off all the ripe corn; in consequence of which the Eretrians, who cultivated it, were exposed to famine and want. Apollonius in the first audience he had with the King, obtained a grant, by which the sole use and enjoyment exclusively of this hill was for ever secured to them.

* Scopelianus, preceptor of Herodes Atticus, to whom Apollonius has addressed several of his Epistles. He was one of the most eminent orators of the age, and was well rewarded by Julius Atticus for the services he rendered to his son.

CHAP. XXV.

THE following account is what I have been able to learn of Babylon and Apollonius, whilst he staid in it. Babylon* is built within a circumference of four hundred and eighty stadia. The walls are in height one plethron and a half, and in breadth not much less than a plethron. It is divided equally into two parts by the Euphrates, under which runs a bridge of wonderful construction, uniting invisibly the royal palaces, that are built on each side of it. It is said, a woman of the Median nation† who formerly possessed the empire, joined the river by means of a bridge, in a way never done before. After having collected on each bank of the river the stones, and brass, and bitumen, and whatever other materials were necessary for building in the water, she turned the course of the stream into the contiguous morasses.‡ This dried up the channel, and then she caused a trench to be dug across it of the depth of two orguias, through which a passage might

* Notwithstanding the account which is here given of Babylon at the time of Apollonius visiting it, I believe few vestiges then remained of its ancient grandeur, and the royal seat of government was transferred to Ctesephon. The circumference given to it by our author is the same with that assigned it by Herodotus and Pliny, 480 stadia, the average stadium may be reckoned at 500 feet. The height of a plethron and a half to the walls, taking the plethron at a hundred feet, is the same as the height given them by Quintus Curtius, of 150 feet. Their breadth, of not much less than a plethron, corresponds not with the breadth of any of the writers. Herodotus gives 75 feet for their breadth, and Curtius and Strabo 32 feet. Pausanias, who lived under the Antonines, says, that in his time nothing remained of Babylon but its walls, and the temple of Belus.

† The Median woman, Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

‡ Paludes Babylonicæ.

be as on dry land to the palaces that stood on each side.* This passage was covered with an arch of the same elevation with the bed of the river; and its foundation and sides were made as fast as they could: but as the bitumen required water to harden, and make it cement, the Euphrates was let in over the wet arch to give it solidity and a durable consistence. The royal mansions are covered with brass, which contribute much to their beauty and splendor. The apartments of both men and women, together with the porticos, are adorned, some with silver, others with tapestry of gold, and even some with beaten gold in place of pictures. The painted decorations of their hangings were all taken from Greek stories, of which Andromeda, and Amymōne, and Orpheus,† supplied subjects. They are delighted with Orpheus, more I am inclined to think from the reverence they have for his tiara and loose hose, than for his skill in music, and the divine songs with which he charms the soul. In the tapestry-work‡ were also to be seen Datis plucking Naxos out of the sea, Artaphernes besieging Eretria, and the victories of King Xerxes. To these were added, Athens in the possession of the enemy, and Thermopylæ, and such other representations as were fitted to swell the Median pride; as *rivers dried up, bridges flung across the ocean, and mount Athos perforated*. It is said Apollonius visited an apartment belonging to the men, whose ceiling was arched in

* See Diodorus Siculus, b. ii. chap. 1. who gives an account of this vaulted passage under the bed of the Euphrates, which Philostratus says was in depth two orguias, or 12 feet.

† The stories of Andromeda and Orpheus are better known than that of Amymone, who was the daughter of Danaus and Europa, and married to Enceladus, whom she murdered the first night of her nuptials.

‡ See Herodotus, for an illustration of the particular portion of his represented in the tapestry.

the form of the heavens, and covered with Sapphire, which is a stone of an azure colour, resembling the sky. Under this canopy were suspended the images of their reputed deities, wrought in gold, and shedding a light as if from heaven. Here it is, where the King sits in judgment. Four birds* in gold hung from the roof, which appeared in the act of denouncing vengeance on the King, if he did wrong, and at the same time of admonishing him, not to exalt himself above what is mortal. The Magi, whose†

* Rather four golden figures, in shape like birds, called *Hecatine Strophali*, or Hecatine Sphæraulæ; in the midst of each was inclosed a sapphire, and about each of them was folded a leather thong, beset all over with characters. These sphæraulæ they whipped about, whilst they made their invocations, and called them *Jynges*, their appellation in the text. Stanley says they used to call them *Jynges*, whether they were round, or triangular, or any other figure, and whilst they were doing thus, they made insignificant or brutish cries, and lashed the air with their whips, *Jynx* is also the bird, motacilla, or wag-tail, and the figures were called Hecatine, from being dedicated to Hecate, a Chaldean goddess, who has at her right side the fountain of virtues.

† Ammianus Marcellinus has a long account of the Magi, which I think not amiss to transcribe here. Plato, a most celebrated author, of singular opinions, informs us, that *Magia*, in a mystical sense, is nothing but *Machagistia*, which signifies the most incorrupt worship and pure observance of divine ceremonies, to which knowledge Zoroaster the Bactrian added many things out of the secrets of the Chaldeans; and after him, that most wise prince Hystaspes, the father of Darius, who whilst he was traversing the interior parts of upper India, arrived at a deep forest, the peaceful retreat of the Brachmans, men of the most sublime knowledge, from whom he learnt as far as he was capable, the system of the world, the motions of the stars, and the most pure rites of their religion; and from what he collected there, he communicated part to the Magi, who transmitted it to their descendants, together with the art of foreseeing things to come. From that time to the present, one and the same unmixed class of men is dedicated to the worship of the Gods. It is also said (if it is right to believe it) that there is kept a fire, which fell from heaven, perpetually burning on their hearths, of which a small portion in former times went before the Kings of Asia, as an auspicious sign of good fortune. These priests were few in number, and were the people employed by the

business it is to wait in his apartment, had these figures made, which they call *the Tongues of the Gods*.

CHAP. XXVI.

OF the Magi, Apollonius has said all he thought sufficient; he had several conversations with them, and after a mutual interchange of knowledge, took his leave of them. Damis confesses his ignorance of what passed between them, and says, Apollonius would not suffer him to be present at any of their interviews, which used to take place at mid-day, and mid-night. When Apollonius was asked his opinion of them, he said, *they are wise, but not in all things*. However, of them hereafter.

CHAP. XXVII.

WHEN he came to Babylon, the Satrap to whom was entrusted the care of the great gates, understanding that Apollonius travelled for the sake of knowledge, presented to him a golden image of the King;* it being held unlawful to enter the city without first worshipping it. This mark of submission was never dispensed with, except in favor of ambassadors sent from the Roman Emperor;

Persian Kings in their sacred ceremonies. It was a sacrilege to approach the altars, or to touch a victim before that one of the Magi had by a set form of prayers poured forth certain precursory libations. Their numbers insensibly increasing, they became not only in name, but in reality, a great nation.

* This manner of adoration was very common among the people of the East, who paid the highest veneration to the statues of their deceased princes. This ceremony, Blount thinks, was much for the same purpose as our oath of allegiance, to testify the respect and fidelity they had for their sovereign.

but every one else who came from barbarous nations, or from curiosity to see the country, if he did not first worship the image, was, if discovered, stigmatised with disgrace. Herein is to be seen how ceremonies of very little consequence were amongst barbarians committed to the care of great officers of state. As soon as Apollonius saw the image, he asked whose it was? and when he heard it was the King's, he said, this man whom you worship, if he is so fortunate as to be praised by me for his virtue and goodness, will acquire honor enough, and with these words passed through the gates. The Satrap followed in admiration, and taking him by the hand, asked him by an interpreter what was his name, his country, his pursuits, and the motive of his journey: and after taking down on a tablet his several answers, together with his dress and appearance, bid him wait his pleasure.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ON this the Satrap made all the haste he could, to those men who are called *the King's Ears*, and after giving them an account of Apollonius, said, the man is not willing to worship the King's image, nor is at all like other men. He was then ordered into their presence, with an express injunction, that proper respect should be paid him, and no molestation offered; when he came before them, he who was the eldest present, asked him why he despised the King? Apollonius said he did not despise him. But will you, said he, hereafter do it? Yes, said Apollonius, if I find by conversing with him, that he is not as good and virtuous as I expect. What presents* do you bring

* The making of presents has been, and to this day is, customary in the East. No negotiation, no treaty of business whatever is entered into,

our King? I bring him, returned Apollonius, fortitude and justice, and some other like virtues. What, said the King's minister, do you bring these presents from an idea of our King's not being already possessed of them? No, not exactly from that, answered Apollonius, but it is from the supposition, that if he is possessed of them, I may teach him their use. Our King, continued the minister, by the exercise of such virtues, has acquired the kingdom he had lost, and recovered his palace, not without much labour and toil. How many years is it, said Apollonius, since he recovered the kingdom? Two years and two months, replied the minister. Then Apollonius, as he was wont to do, when he wished to give weight to his opinion, cried, O thou guardian of the royal person, or if any other appellation please thee better, hearken to what I say; Darius, the father of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, after a reign of about sixty* years, when he found his end approaching, is said to have sacrificed to justice, and thus exclaimed, "*O mistress, whosoever thou art.*" By this may be inferred that he loved justice all his life, though he knew her not, nor ever thought himself possessed of her. Hence it came to pass that he educated his children so foolishly, that they waged war with each other, and the one was wounded and the other killed by his brother. And you

into, or carried on without them. No one was allowed to appear in the presence of the Persian Kings without some gift, no matter of what value. To this account it may be added, that when our countryman, Lord Macartney, had his interview with the Emperor of China in 1793, the receiving and returning of presents, made a considerable part of the ceremony, and we may say, of the embassy also.

* Philostratus differs from all other chronologers, in making Darius possess his kingdom 60 years. It is probable, as Olearius conjectures, that the period of 60 years refers to his age, and not to his reign.

praise beyond all deserving, a King, as if possessed of every virtue, who perhaps does not know how to support his throne: and yet, if he becomes better than he is, the gain will be yours and not mine. Then one of the barbarians present looking on him, said, unquestionably the Gods have given us this extraordinary man: for I am of opinion, that men of virtue conversing with a prince so well instructed as our King, must make him wiser, and better, and more gracious, inasmuch as these virtues are painted in his countenance. On this all ran to the palace, proclaiming the good tidings of a man being at the King's gates, who was wise, and a Greek, and an excellent counsellor.

CHAP. XXIX.

WHEN these tidings reached the King, he was in the act of offering sacrifice in the presence of the Magi, to whose care were committed the sacred rites of religion. He called one of them to him, and said, I now recollect the dream I told you of yesterday, when you came to me as I lay in bed. The King's dream was, that he thought himself Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and that his own countenance became like unto his. This dream raised apprehensions in him, lest the change in his countenance should forebode a change in his affairs. As soon as he heard of the arrival of a wise man and a Greek at his court, he called to mind Themistocles, who came formerly from Greece, and who by his conversations with Artaxerxes, made not only that prince estimable, but shewed himself such as he was represented. Then the King stretching out his right hand, said, bid the man come forward: and let our conversation begin under the good omens of having his prayers united with our own, in sacrificing to the Gods.

CHAP. XXX.

AT length Apollonius made his entry amidst a great train, who attended him out of respect to the King, who, it is said, was much gratified at his arrival. When he came into the palace, he took no notice of any of those things which in general excite the admiration of people, but passed on like a man on a journey. Then turning to Damis, he said, did not you ask me some time ago, the name of the Pamphylian woman who was Sappho's acquaintance, and who composed hymns that are still accustomed to be sung in honor of the Pergean* Diana, after the Eolian and Pamphylian measure. I did, said Damis, but you made me no answer. I did not my friend, but I explained to you the measures of the hymns, and the names of the measures; and how she transposed certain pieces of music which were set to the Eolian measure, from that to a measure of the highest key, and one which the Pamphylians claim as their own. As other objects afterwards occurred and attracted our attention, you asked me no more about her. But I will now answer you: her name is Damophyla,† she had, like Sappho, a company of young virgins in her train, who attended her as scholars, and she composed like Sappho, verses, of which some were amorous, and some in honor of the Gods. The verses she composed in honor of Diana, are sung in the Sapphic measure as well as in the Pamphylian, or the measure of Damophyla, which differs from that of Sappho. How little Apollonius was affected by all the rich and splendid circumstances of royalty, appeared by

* Perga, a town in Pamphylia, where Diana was worshipped with peculiar veneration.

† Damophyla was contemporary with Sappho—and not only wrote hymns in honour of the Pergean Diana, but opened a school where the young virgins, her scholars, were taught the various powers of music and poetry.

BAYLE—art. Perga.

his not even condescending to look at them, and by talking of the most insignificant matters, as if they were actually before him.

CHAP. XXXI.

WHEN the King saw him at a distance approaching, (for the court of the temple was spacious) he spoke to his attendants in a way which shewed he recognised the man. As soon as he drew nearer, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, this is Apollonius whom my brother Megabates saw at Antioch, who was honored and esteemed by all the good, and whom he described exactly such as he now appears to me. As Apollonius advanced, the King spoke to him in Greek, and commanded him to join in the sacrifice which he was then offering to the sun, of a white horse from the Nisean* plains, adorned as if prepared for a solemn procession. To this Apollonius said, do you, O King, sacrifice after your manner, but let me sacrifice after mine. After he said this, he took the frankincense in his hand and uttered these words, O Sun! conduct me to whatever part of the world it may seem good to you and me; and grant me only to know the virtuous: but as to the wicked, I wish neither to know them, nor to be known by them. With these words he threw the frankincense† into the fire, observing at the same time the

* *Nisæus Compus*,—a plain in Media, famous for its breed of horses. The chariot of Xerxes was drawn by them, and in all processions the sacred horses were Nisæan. The Nisæan pastures are spoken of in Diodorus Siculus. White horses were sacrificed to the sun almost among all nations, the Scythians, Greeks, and Romans. Livy, in speaking of Camillus having triumphed in a chariot drawn by four white horses, says, “*parumque id non civile modò, sed humanum etiam visum. Jovis Solisque equis æquiparari dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant: triumphusque ob eam unam maximè rem clarior quam gratior fuit.*”

† *Libanomanteia*—divination by frankincense, which, if it caught fire, and emitted a grateful odour, was esteemed a good omen; but if the fire did not catch it, or it produced a disagreeable smell, it was a bad omen.

smoke, how it rose, and curled, and shot into spiral forms: and afterwards touching the fire as if it indicated good and propitious omens, he exclaimed, "O King! do you continue to sacrifice after the ceremonies of your own country; for my part I have observed what belongs to mine." With this declaration he withdrew from the sacrifice, through fear lest he should be made a partaker in the shedding of blood.

CHAP. XXXII.

WHEN the sacrifice was ended, Apollonius came forward, and said, O King!* do you know the Greek language, or only as much as serves for conversation, and for not appearing awkward when visited by any of that nation? I know it, said the King, as I do my mother tongue, and therefore you may say what you please, for I suppose it is on that account you ask the question. It is indeed, replied Apollonius, and hearken, I pray you, to what I have to say. I am now going to visit the Indians, who are the chief objects of my journey; yet I could not pass you by, particularly after hearing so much to your praise, which from experience I find true. Besides, I was anxious to know the wisdom that is professed by the Magi in your country, and whether they are, as report says, wise in things touching religion.† The wisdom I profess is that of Pythagoras the Samian, who taught me to worship the Gods‡ in the way you perceived,

* This must have been a matter of very little consequence to Apollonius, who says himself, he knew all languages.

† How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, every where, and in all things, appears from this conversation, if Damis may be relied on.

‡ For which cause Vopiscus styled him, *amicus verus Deorum*.

to discern their several natures, and respect them accordingly, to converse with them, and dress myself in garments made from the genuine fleece of the earth, not torn from the sheep, but from what groweth pure from the pure,—from linen, the simple produce of the earth and water. I let my hair grow, and abstain from all animal food, in obedience to the doctrine of Pythagoras. With you or any other man, I can never indulge in the gratifications of the table. I promise to free you from perplexing and vexatious cares, for I not only know, but foreknow what is to be. Such are the subjects on which Damis says Apollonius conversed with the King, and which are noticed by him in some of his epistles. Some other conversations passed which are referred to in his letters.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE King confessed he was more pleased with his coming, than if he had the wealth of India and Persia added to his own. He expressed a desire of making him his guest, and giving him apartments in the royal palace. What would you say, O King! replied Apollonius, should I invite you to live in my house, in case of your coming to Tyana, the place of my birth, would you do it? I think not, said the King, without the house was capable of receiving me and my attendants, and that in a way becoming my rank and consequence. The truth is, said Apollonius, that were I to live in a house above my condition of life, I should not be comfortable. All kind of excess is irksome to the wise, as the want of it is to you who are of the great ones of the earth, and for this reason I prefer living with some private individual, whose fortune does not exceed my own; but as to conversation, I will

converse with you as much as you please. The King assented to his request, lest he might, unknown to himself, be the means of hurting his feelings on the occasion.

CHAP. XXXIV.

WHILST Apollonius staid, he lodged at the house of a Babylonian who was a man of good family and character. As he was sitting at supper with him, an eunuch came in (who was one of the royal messengers) and addressing himself to Apollonius, said, 'The King gives you the choice of ten boons, and the permission of chusing them, and he insists that you should not ask such as are of mean value, he being anxious to impress both you and us with a sense of his great bounty. Apollonius, flattered by the tenor of the royal message, enquired when the permission would be granted. To-morrow, said the eunuch—and immediately proceeded to the King's friends and relations, with an order for their attendance at the hour appointed, to testify the respect paid to so honoured a suppliant. Damis says, he thought he would ask for nothing, from the knowledge he had of his peculiar disposition, and from knowing that his petitions to the Gods were all in general to this effect, *O Gods! grant me few possessions, and no wants!* Yet when he saw him stand in a pensive mood, and like one in deep thought, he imagined he might make a request, and was puzzled to think what it should be. At length, when evening came on, he said, I have been considering Damis, the reason why the barbarians look on eunuchs as chaste, and why such ready admission is given them into the apartments of the women. To this Damis said, the reason is obvious to a child—because the operation by which they are made eunuchs, deprives them of the power of loving, and this is such a reason for the permission, that it extends even to the liber-

ty of sleeping with women. But do you suppose, said Apollonius, that the operation alluded to cuts off both the power of loving, and that of knowing women? It does both, replied Damis; for if the parts by which the body is excited to passion be removed, love will find no entrance into the human breast. Whereupon Apollonius paused, and then said, You shall understand to-morrow that eunuchs are capable of making love, and that the inclination prompting thereto, making its way into the eyes, is not extinguished there, but retains its strength in full vigor. An event will shortly happen, which will shew you the false grounds on which your reasoning is built. For supposing any human means were discovered powerful enough to banish such desires from the mind, I do not think that the decent manners of the truly chaste should be ascribed to eunuchs, and the reason is, because they are compelled to the practice of the virtue, and drawn as it were by violence to the observation of it. The virtue denominated *temperance*,* consists in not yielding to this passion, though you feel all the incentives to it; but in abstaining from it, and shewing yourself superior to all its allurements. Here Damis resuming the conversation, said, We shall consider these things at another opportunity: at present it is your business to think of the answer you are to make to the royal message, which is so noble. For my part, I think you will ask nothing, but then how you are to act so, without seeming to slight what is offered, is the question. Consider this, and where you are—and don't forget we are entirely in the King's power. Besides, all appearance of treating the King with disrespect should be avoided, for though we may have enough to supply our journey to India, that will not suffice for our

* This precept relative to the restraint on our desires is admirable, and probably derived from still higher sources than the philosophy of the times.

coming back, and to that we ought to look, and to whom we ought to apply. Such was the address used to pacify Apollonius, and make him not despise the royal offers.

CHAP. XXXV.

ON this occasion Apollonius, as if he wished to add weight to Damis's reasoning, said, But why will you pass over, Damis, the examples of others? That, for instance, of Æschines* the son of Lysanias, who sailed to Sicily to visit the court of Dionysius, for the sake of money; or that of Plato, who is said to have thrice measured the gulf of Charybdis for the same purpose; or of Aristippus the Cyrenean, and Helicon† of Cyzicus, and Phyton,‡ who fled from Rhegium; all these men plunged themselves so deep into the treasures of Dionysius, that they could scarcely be extricated from them. Besides, they say, that Eudoxus§ of Gnidos, who sailed formerly into Egypt, confessed that money was his object, of which he talked to the King. However, not to traduce any more of

* Æschines, called the philosopher, to distinguish him from many others of the same name, he was a disciple of Socrates whom he never forsook. He was poor, and his poverty compelled him to visit Dionysius, the tyrant, at whose court he found Plato and Aristippus. He wrote many dialogues, together with several orations and epistles, which are much admired.

† Helicon of Cyzicus foretold an eclipse of the sun, as appears from Plutarch's Life of Dion, which induced Plato to recommend him to the protection of Dionysius, with whom he lived in great favour.

‡ Phyto was of a noble family of Elis, who, after being reduced to captivity with the rest of his countrymen, was at last forced to use very improper means for his support.

§ Eudoxus of Gnidos was a man of learning and character, who, our author says, travelled into Egypt for the sake of money, but herein he is supposed to be mistaken, as it appears, his friends made a contribution for the purpose of enabling him to undertake the journey.

the learned, we are told that, Speusippus* the Athenian, loved money to such excess, that he went on purpose to Macedonia to be present at the nuptials of Cassander, at which he recited in public some bad verses for the sake of money. For my part, Damis, I think a wise man is subject to much greater dangers than are either soldiers or sailors: for envy clings to him whether he speaks or is silent; whether he is employed or not, whether he does his duty, or neglects it, and lastly, whether he salutes you or does not. A wise man ought always to be on his guard, and know, that if he be overcome with sloth, or anger, or love, or any other excess, or acts in a way unbecoming his character, for all this he may perhaps be pardoned: but if he subject himself to the love of money, he never will; on the contrary, he will be hated, as one who is the slave of every other vice. For it will be naturally supposed, that if he suffer himself to be overcome by the love of money, he is already overcome by the love of good-living, and fine clothes, and women, and wine. But perhaps Damis, you think, that committing a fault at Babylon is not the same as committing one at Athens, or Olympia, or Delphi, and do not consider that *every place is Greece to a wise man*, who esteems no place desert or barbarous whilst he lives under the eyes of virtue, whose regards are extended but to very few men, and looks on such with an hundred eyes. Suppose Damis you were to meet with an Athleta (one of those who make the public games of Greece their chief study) you would naturally consider him, if he disputed the prize at Olympia, and went into Arca-

* Speusippus, an Athenian philosopher, married one of Plato's nieces, and succeeded him in his school. Diogenes Laertius agrees with Apollonius, in saying he loved money, which is confirmed by one of Dionysius's letters to him which is still extant.—It says, "Plato took no money from his scholars, but you exact it whether they are willing or not."

dia, a man of courage, without further proof of his prowess ; and the very same person were he to contend in the Pythian and Nemean games, you would of course consider as having taken pains to prepare himself for them, because these games throughout Greece are celebrated, and the exercises of the stadia are of high renown. But supposing Philip, after taking some cities, or his son Alexander after gaining some victories, were to institute games on the occasion, do you imagine that this man would be less attentive to the care of his body, or less anxious for victory, because he was to contend at Olynthos, or Macedonia, or Egypt ; and not among the Greeks, and in their most celebrated places of exercise. Damis writes he was so much affected by this discourse of Apollonius, that he became ashamed of what he said, and therefore intreated Apollonius to pardon him for presuming to give such advice without having sufficiently considered and weighed his genius and temper. But Apollonius encouraging him, said, do not be discomfited, for I have talked thus not for the sake of rebuke, but illustration.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MEANWHILE an eunuch arrived with an invitation for Apollonius from the King. I shall attend on him, said he, as soon as I have performed, according to due custom, all things touching religion. Having therefore finished his offerings and prayers, he approached the King amidst the astonishment of all the spectators, on account of his singular dress and venerable appearance. As soon as he came into the royal presence, the King said, I give you ten boons, inasmuch as I consider you in a light different from any other man who ever came from Greece. To this, Apollonius answered, I will not, O King ! refuse all your boons, but I have one to ask which I prize more than

many tens: and he then entered on the business of the Eretrians, beginning with Datis. My request is, that you may not take from those wretched men their borders and favoured hill, but may permit them to retain that portion of land which was given them by Darius; for it would be hard indeed, if driven from their own country, they were not suffered to keep that which was assigned them as an equivalent for what they lost. To which the King assenting, said, Till yesterday the Eretrians were our enemies, and the enemies of our forefathers: in former times they took up arms against us, which is the cause of their having been so neglected by us, that scarce a remnant of them survives. Henceforward however we shall consider them as friends, and I will give them a good governor, and one who will do them justice. But why not accept, said the King, the remaining nine boons? Because, replied he, I have not as yet acquired more friends. But, returned the King, is there nothing of which you stand in need yourself? Nothing, answered Apollonius, but some fruit and bread, which make me a most sumptuous repast.

CHAP. XXXVII.

WHILST they were discoursing in this manner, a screaming was heard from that quarter of the palace where the women and eunuchs resided. An eunuch had been caught in bed with one of the King's concubines, whom they had seized, and were dragging by the hair of the head round the women's apartment, treating him like one of the royal slaves. Whereupon the chief and eldest of the eunuchs said, he had long perceived his attachment to this woman, and had given his orders that he should not converse with her, nor touch her neck, or hands, and of all, that he alone should not be suffered to dress her,

and notwithstanding this prohibition, he has been found in bed with her. When Apollonius heard this, he looked at Damis, as if the truth was now apparent of that question which they had lately discussed on the subject of eunuchs being capable of loving. On this the King, turning to those who were standing about him, said, it would not be decorous in him to give his opinion on the subject of chastity whilst Apollonius was present. To what punishment, Apollonius, do you sentence the culprit? To what other, replied he, than to that of being suffered to live; a decision directly contrary to all their opinions. What, returned the King, blushing, is he not worthy of many deaths who has violated my bed? The sentence, said Apollonius, which I have passed, is not for pardon, but for the consequent punishment: for if he be permitted to live in the disease, in imagining impossibilities, neither what he eats, or drinks, will serve him, nor will the amusements which entertain so much you and your court, give him any pleasure. Besides, he will be subject to all the inconveniencies which usually attend on those who are in love, such as sudden startings in his sleep, and frequent palpitations of the heart. And what malady, do you think, can so corrode him, or grief fret him? If he is of the number of those who are not much attached to life, he will request you to put an end to his existence, or, if not, he will kill himself, bitterly lamenting the day wherein he was not put to death. Such was the mild and prudent answer of Apollonius, which prevailed on the King to remit the penalty of death to the eunuch.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE King, being minded to take the diversion of the chase, in a place set apart for his lions, bears, and panthers, asked Apollonius to accompany him; who immediately

said, Have you forgot, O King! that I was never present at any of your sacrifices? and if I was not, surely it would be less pleasing to me to lie in ambuscade to see wild beasts put to pain, and reduced to a state of captivity in opposition to their nature. The King once asked what was the best way of reigning with security, he replied, *by honouring many, and trusting few*. During his stay at Babylon, a governor of Syria* sent ambassadors to the King to treat of two villages situate near Zeugma, which they said had been formerly subject to Antiochus and Seleucus, but at present were under his jurisdiction, though of right belonging to the Roman empire; that they were no longer molested by the incursions of Arabians and Armenians, yet that he in violation of all ancient limits had invaded them, and made them useful to himself, as if they were his own property, and not that of the Roman people. The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the King said to Apollonius, The two Kings to whom the ambassadors have alluded, made a grant of these villages to my ancestors for the purpose of supplying them with wild beasts; for whatever game was taken by us in hunting was sent to them across the Euphrates: but now forgetting all this, they think of nothing but new and unjust aggressions. What think you, Apollonius, of this embassy? I think it fair and moderate, returned he, inasmuch as they are disposed to hold from your good will, what they can hold in spite of it, and what is at present in their possession. Besides, added Apollonius, you should not for the sake of two villages that are intrinsically of less value than the private fortunes of some individuals, engage in a war with the Romans, which should not be undertaken for much more important considerations. In an

* At this time Syria was a Roman Province, under the jurisdiction of a prætorian prefect.

illness the King had, we are informed Apollonius attended and spoke with so much eloquence on the nature of the soul, that he revived, and told those about him that Apollonius had not only made him despise his kingdom, but even death itself.

C H A P. XXXIX.

WHEN the King shewed Apollonius the secret passage under the Euphrates, and asked him what he thought of such a wonderful piece of workmanship? To check the pride of his imagination, he said, O King! the wonder would be were you able to pass on foot over such a deep and unfordable river. At another time when he shewed him the walls of Ecbatana,* and told him the city was a dwelling fit for the Gods: not for the Gods, said Apollonius, and I am doubtful whether it is a dwelling fit for men, for the city of Lacedemon was built without walls. To the King, who in the administration of justice in one of his towns, boasted of having spent two days in the hearing of one cause, Apollonius said, I am sorry you were so long in finding out what was just. On the occasion of a great overflow of revenue, the King made an ostentatious display of it to Apollonius, from a wish he had of making him fond of riches, but he without expressing the least surprise at what he saw, said, O King! you look on all this revenue as so much wealth, I look on it as so

* Herodotus says, the walls of Ecbatana were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements.

I agree with Olearius in thinking that these are the walls so described by Herodotus, to which our author alludes in the text.

much straw. But how, said the King, shall I place it to the best account? By making a proper use of it, for you are a King.

CHAP. XL.

AFTER many discourses of this kind with the King, whom he found well-disposed to comply with his wishes, and saying what he thought sufficient to the Magi, he said, Come Damis, and let us pursue our journey to the Indians. Persons who have sailed to the Lotophagi,* by eating of the food peculiar to that country, have lost all relish of their own. But for ourselves, without having eaten of any thing here, we remain longer than what is either meet or becoming. I am exceedingly pleased with your determination, cried Damis; and yet, when I called to mind the time we calculated on, in the case of the lioness, I was patiently waiting its accomplishment, for of it there is expired but one year and four months; at the same time I think, if we could get away, it would be right.—But, said Apollonius, The King will not let us leave him till after the full expiration of the eight months, as you see he is a courteous prince, and too good to reign over barbarians.

* The tenth we touch'd, by various errors tost,
The land of Lotos, and the flow'ry coast, &c.

The trees around them, all their fruit produce;
Lotos the name, divine nectareous juice:
(Thence call'd Lotophagi) which whoso tastes,
Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts;
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his house, his country, and his friends.

ODYSSEY, b. ix.

Meninx—an island in the Mediterranean to the west of the Syrtis Minor—supposed to be Homer's country of the Lotophagi. For a particular account of the Lotos, see Col. Rennel's dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus.

C H A P. XLI.

AS soon as Apollonius thought it time to set out, and had received the King's permission to do so, he recollected the boons he had foreborne to ask, till he had acquired more friends in the country. Whereupon he addressed the King, and said, Thou best of princes, I have shewn no mark whatever of favour to my host, and I feel myself besides under many obligations to the Magi. Them I beseech you for my sake to respect, for they are wise men, and much devoted to your service. With this the King was much pleased, and said, To-morrow you shall see these men made objects of emulation, and highly rewarded. Though you require nothing which I can give you, permit at least those men who are with Damis (whom he pointed out) to accept of some part of my wealth, just as much as they may chuse. As soon as they heard these words, they all turned away, when Apollonius said, you see my hands,* O King! though many, are all like each other. Since it is so, said the King, take, I pray thee, a guide for your journey, and camels to ride on; the way is too long to make it all on foot. Be it as you desire, said Apollonius, for I am told the road is difficult without such conveyance, and the camel is an animal easily supported, even where there is but little fodder. Water I suppose is likewise to be provided, and carried like wine in bags made of skins. For three days' journey, said the King, you will find the country without water; afterwards you will meet with both rivers and springs: your road is over Caucasus, on which you will find all kind of

* *My hands*—this alludes to Damis, and his companions who accompanied him on the journey—whose conduct on this occasion illustrated the English proverb, *like master, like man*.

accommodations, and the country hospitable. When the King asked what present he would bring him from thence, Apollonius answered, a most acceptable one, O King! for if I become wiser by the conversation of the men of that country, I shall return to you better than I leave you, —Whereupon the King embracing him, said, Go thy way—for the present will be great.

BOOK II.—CONTENTS.

Mount Caucasus—Continuation of the journey of Apollonius to India—Particular account of the Elephant, &c.—Passes the Indus—Description of Taxila, and its Temple—Some particulars of Porus—Conference with king Phraotes—Receives letters of recommendation from him to the Wise Men, or Brachmans.

CHAP. I.

OUR travellers began their journey in the summer, mounted on camels, and attended by a guide, who was one of the camel-drivers appointed by the King to take care of them on the way. The King provided them abundantly with what they wanted; and the country besides was rich through which they passed, and the several towns gave them a welcome reception; for the camel that advanced in front carried on his forehead an ornament of gold, to shew to all that one of the King's friends was on the road.

CHAP. II.

WHEN they approached Caucasus, they say the country became quite odoriferous. This mountain we make the beginning of Taurus,* that, traversing Armenia and Cilicia, extends to Pamphylia, and as far as Cape Mycale,

* In such a continued chain of mountains as bear the name of Taurus, it is difficult to ascertain which belong to it, or which are only connected with it. D'Anville says, that the chain of mountains denominated Taurus, runs in a line parallel to the Mediterranean, which it immediately commands at the Promontorium Sacrum; and that after being intersected by the Euphrates, stretches even as far as India.

which ending in the sea of Caria, may properly be considered as the termination, and not, as some think, the beginning of Caucasus. The height of Mycale* is not considerable; but the tops of Mount Caucasus† rise so high, that the rays of the sun seem as if divided by them. With the other branch of Taurus, Caucasus embraces all that part of Scythia which borders on India, and stretches along the Mæotis and the left side of the Pontus, in length about two thousand stadia; so great is the extent of country which is compassed by an arm of Caucasus. But what is said of that Taurus which is so called by us, extending beyond Armenia (though this has been called in question) is now made apparent from the panthers which I know have been taken in the spice-bearing part of Pamphylia; for they, delighting in odors, which they scent at a great distance, quit Armenia, and cross the mountains in search of the tears of the storax,‡ at the time when the wind blows from that quarter and the trees distil their gums. It is said a panther was once taken in Pamphylia, with a gold chain about its neck, on which was inscribed in Armenian letters, “Arsaces the King, to the Nysæan God.” Arsaces was then King of Armenia, who is supposed to have given it its liberty on account of its magnitude, and in honour of Bacchus, who amongst the Indians is called Nysius, from

* Mycale, in Caria, is the beginning of Taurus, and not its ending.

† This Olearius explains, by saying, that to the west of Caucasus it is dark some time after the sun has risen, and enlightning the countries to the east of the mountain.

‡ Pliny mentions the *lachrymæ Styracis*. The styrax or storax, he says, grows in Syria, which borders on Judea. The tree which produces this liquor is called also styrax, or storax. It is like the quince-tree in form and leaf, is hollow like a reed, from which the juice called storax distils. Pliny mentions the styrax of Pamphylia as a tree which produces a juice less in quantity, and of a somewhat bitter flavour.

Nysa,* one of their towns: this, however, is an appellation which he bears amongst all the oriental nations. This panther became subject to man, and grew so tame, that it was patted and caressed by every one. But on the approach of spring, a season when panthers become susceptible of love, it felt the general passion, and rushed with fury into the mountains in quest of a mate, with the gold chain about its neck; and was taken in the lower part of Taurus, attracted by the odour of the spices. Caucasus bounds the land of Judea and Media, and by another arm descends to the Red Sea.

CHAP. III.

THE barbarians talk of Caucasus in their stories as the Greeks do. How, for instance, Prometheus† was bound to it for his love to mankind, and how a person of the name of Hercules (but not of Thebes) indignant at the treatment he received, shot the bird with his arrows, which Prometheus fed with his bowels. Some accounts say he was bound in a cave, which is still shewn among the prominences of the mountain; and, according to Damis's‡

* Nysa was a town which merited the notice of Alexander. Its foundation was ascribed to Dionysius, or Bacchus, in his Indian expedition; and Indian traditions mentions *Mysada-buram*, that is, the town of Nysa; it is in the hither India, situate between the rivers Cophen and the Indus.

† The chaining of Prometheus is placed by the Greek writers not in the Caucasus of India, but in that which lies between the Palus Mæotis and the Caspian Sea; therefore if that is so, Damis must have been mistaken in saying he saw the chains where he did.

‡ Of the integrity of this Damis, says Naudæus, in his History of Magic, we are not to make the least account, since he is so impudent as to affirm in Philostratus that he had seen the chains wherewith Prometheus had been fastened to Mount Caucasus, which were yet in the stones, when he passed it with Apollonius, who was travelling to the Indies.

relation, the chains are to be seen hanging from the rock with which he was tied; chains, which it is not easy to say of what matter they are made. Other accounts say he was chained to the summit of the mountain, which has two tops, to one of which each hand was fastened, though the intermediate distance was not less than a stadium, so immense was his stature. The dwellers on Caucasus consider the eagles their enemies, and burn all the nests they find of them among the rocks, shooting at them fiery darts. They also set snares for them, saying it is in revenge of Prometheus; such is the effect which this fable has on their minds.

CHAP. IV.

OUR travellers, when they passed Mount Caucasus, say they saw men of the height of four cubits, and of a black colour; and on approaching the river Indus, some of five cubits. They say besides, that in their way to this river some occurrences took place which deserve to be noticed. One was, that whilst travelling in a clear moonlight night, they saw the figure of an Empusa,* which assumed a variety of shapes, and then totally disappeared. Apollonius, who knew what it was, rebuked the Empusa, and advised

* Empusa, a spectre that could transform itself into any shape, and sometimes assumed that of a woman, as Aristophanes says in his play of the frogs. From its having but one leg, as its name signified, it always appeared hopping—hence *hop goblin*, or *hob goblin* according to Wallis and Junius. Empusa is the name given by Demosthenes to Glaucotea, the mother of Æschines, from the variety of characters which she assumed for the sake of gain. Lucian, in his Treatise on Dancing, says, we have reason to suppose that Empusa also, who could throw herself into such a variety of shapes, was likewise some excellent proficient in this art. Some writers confound the Empusa with Hecate. Eustathius derives the name from her walking on one foot. Aristophanes in his Frogs gives her two feet, of which one is of iron, and the other the foot of an ass.

his attendants to do the same, for that such mode of treatment was a sure remedy against all insult: whereupon the spectrum fled, shrieking like a ghost.

CHAP. V.

WHILST they were passing the tops of the mountain on foot, on account of the surrounding precipices, Apollonius had the following dialogue* with Damis. Pray tell me Damis where were we yesterday? On the plain, said he. And to-day where are we? On Caucasus, if I am not mistaken. When, asked Apollonius, were you in a lower situation? I think this hardly worth asking, said Damis; for yesterday we were in a valley, and to-day on ground not far distant from heaven. Then, added Apollonius, you think, Damis, yesterday's journey was what is called *Below*, and this day's *Above*. I do, said Damis, if I am in my right mind. In what respect, then, said Apollonius, do you think that these ways differ the one from the other? or wherein do you suppose this day's journey has the advantage of that of yesterday? In this, said Damis—that yesterday's journey has been made by many travellers as well as by us; but that this day's journey has been made but by few.† Even in a city, said Apollonius,

* From this dialogue, and others of a similar nature, Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was inclined to think that Apollonius had picked up Damis as a fit Sancho Pancha to exercise his wit upon. For upon all occasions, says the Bishop, we find him not only baffling the Esquire in disputes, but breaking jests upon him, which he always takes with much thankfulness, and more humility, still admiring his master's wisdom, but more his wit.

† This alludes to a well known symbol of Pythagoras, which says, "Declining high-ways, walk in path-ways." Leave the public popular course of life, and pursue that which is separate and divine. He who is attached to the wisdom of Pythagoras, may be *alone* in the middle of the forum.

one may live far from the noise of men, in places frequented by few. I did not allude to this, replied Damis; but I affirmed, that yesterday we travelled through populous villages, and to-day through regions untrodden by human foot; regions esteemed divine and holy; for from our guide we learn, that the barbarians esteem them the dwellings of the gods; and saying this, he lifted up his eyes to the summit of the mountain. Hereupon Apollonius returning to the original question, said, Can you tell me, Damis, what knowledge you have acquired of the divine nature by being nearer heaven? None, said Damis. And yet you thought, continued Apollonius, that by being elevated to such a height above the surface of the earth, you would have given us more distinct ideas of the heavens, and of the sun, and of the moon, which you imagined you might have touched with your wand from the situation to which you were raised. What I knew yesterday, said Damis, of the divine nature, I know also to-day, without the addition of any new idea. Then, said Apollonius, you are still, Damis, what we called *Below*, and have learnt nothing by being *Above*; and you are as far from heaven to-day as you were yesterday; therefore the question I asked at first was a pertinent one, though you thought it ridiculous. The truth is, said Damis, I did think I should have come down wiser, particularly when I remembered to have heard that Anaxagoras the Clazomenian made his celestial observations from Mimas in Ionia, and Thales the Milesian from Mycale in its neighbourhood. Some are said to have used Pangeus as an observatory, and others mount Athos. But for myself, I fear I shall not descend a whit wiser than I ascended, though I have gone up a mountain higher than either of them. Nor did they, replied Apollonius; for what can such observations avail—they may shew the heavens of a more azure colour, the stars of a greater magnitude, and the sun rising out of night—phenomena all known to the goatherds and shepherds of

the country. But in what manner a supreme Being superintends the human race, and how he delights to be worshipped; what is virtue, justice, and temperance, neither will Athos shew to those who climb its summit, nor Olympus, so renowned in song, if the soul does not make such discussions the objects of its contemplation; and if it does engage in such topics pure and undefiled, I will not hesitate to assert, that it will rise far above Caucasus itself.

CHAP. VI.

HAVING now passed this mountain, they saw for the first time men mounted on elephants, who dwell between Caucasus and the river Cophen.* These men are of rude manners, and have the care of herds of elephants, which they use as cavalry. Some of them rode on camels, which the Indians keep for carrying their dispatches. These animals travel a thousand stadia a day, and, it is said, without ever bending the knee, or taking any rest. An Indian who rode on one of them, advanced and asked the guide whither they were going? When told the object of their journey, he mentioned it to the rest of his companions, who were called Nomades. They raised a cry like people who had pleasure in what they heard, and immediately ordered Apollonius and his companions to draw near, which when they did, they offered them some wine and honey, both the produce of the palm-tree, and some raw pieces of lion's† and panther's flesh. Our travellers accepted all

* Cophen, or Cophes, is a river which, rising in Paropamisus, runs into the Indies below Taxila. It is supposed to be the same with the Coas or Cohes which Alexander met with, and is now known by its actual name, which is, the *Cow*.

† The wandering Arabs are exempted from paying tribute to either Tunis or Algiers, on account of their being obliged by the institution of

but the flesh, and then passing by them, journeyed on towards the east.

CHAP. VII.

WHILST they were eating their frugal meal by a fountain of clear water, Damis poured out part of the wine he got from the Indians, and said, I pledge you, Apollonius, in this cup, in honour of Jupiter Salvator, of which I think you may drink, though you have long declined the use of wine; for you will not refuse drinking it, as you do what is extracted from the vine: After saying this, he made a libation in consequence of having mentioned the name of Jupiter. Apollonius turning to Damis with a smile, said, Do we not abstain from money? We do, as your conduct has often evinced. What, said Apollonius, shall we touch neither gold nor silver, nor suffer ourselves to be tempted by money, so much desired by Kings and people; and yet, if offered brass money for silver, or what is counterfeit and adulterate for what is sterling, shall we accept it merely from its not being such as is in general use among men? The coin used by the Indians is made of orichalcum and black brass; it is what passes current with all merchants who trade in these parts. Suppose, Damis, these honest Nomades had offered us this species; would not you, had you seen me refusing it, have advised me against it, and have told me that *that* only can be reckoned as money which is coined by the Romans and the King of the Medes; but that what passes as money, and is in use with the Indians, is quite a different thing. And now suppose, Damis,

of their founder to eat lion's flesh for their daily food. Bruce mentions his having eaten of three different aged lions, of which none were tolerable.

I had suffered myself to be persuaded by such reasoning, what would you have said of me? Would I not have appeared in your eyes adulterate, and more dishonourable in casting away my philosophy, than the cowardly soldier who casts away his shield. And yet the man who so parts with his shield may get another, not inferior to the one he has lost, in the opinion of Archilochus. But how, say you, is philosophy to be recovered by one who has despised and rejected her? Bacchus will pardon me if I abstain entirely from wine; but should I drink of that wine which comes from the date in preference to what comes from the vine, would he not with justice be angry with me, and say his gifts were despised by me? At present we are not far from the God, and you hear from our guide that the mountain Nysa is at hand, on which Bacchus performs many miracles. Men, Damis, are not only intoxicated with the juice of the grape, but with that of the date, and are driven into madness by drinking it. You have seen many of the Indians so affected, some of whom dance and sing and reel to and fro, and stagger like men who have sat up the whole night carousing. But that you look on this potion as wine, is plain from the libation you have made to Jupiter, and the usual prayers offered up on the occasion. So much, Damis, have I said in my defence, for I wish not to prohibit you or your companions from drinking it; on the contrary, I will give you the permission of eating flesh, as I see the abstaining from it has profited you nothing; but for myself, I find such abstinence suitable to me in the practice of that philosophy to which I have addicted myself from my youth. This discourse was listened to with pleasure by Damis and his companions, who were not displeased to hear of the permission granted, conceiving very naturally that they would be the better able to endure the journey by means of such good fare.

C H A P. VIII.

AFTER this our travellers crossed the river Copen in boats (their camels having passed by a ford where the river was not very deep) and entered a district which acknowledged the King's authority; where the mountain Nysa rises in plantations from the bottom to the top, like Tmolus in Lydia, and is to be ascended by paths cut in it for the purposes of agriculture. When they reached the top of it they discovered a temple which Bacchus had built for himself, and planted round with laurels. It was but an indifferent one, as the ground did not admit of a better. They say he planted ivy and vines round the laurels, and in the center erected a statue of himself, from a supposition that in time the trees would meet at the top, and form a regular roof over it, which was the case when they arrived, for the branches were so interwoven that neither rain or wind could penetrate or injure the temple. Sickles, and baskets, and wine presses, and all the other necessary implements, made of gold and silver, were hung up in honour of the God, as if he was a wine-dresser. This statue bore the likeness of an Indian boy, and was made of white marble. The report of the country is, that whilst Bacchus is performing his orgies, and making Nysa shake with his presence, the cities beneath hear him and tremble.

C H A P. IX.

THE Greeks and Indians have different opinions about Bacchus, and the Indians themselves vary with each other on the subject. We say that the Theban Bacchus made an expedition into India, where he discharged both the duties of a soldier and the rites of a Bacchanalian. Be-

sides other arguments to prove this, we have a donative, which is still preserved among the treasures of Delphi, where a Discus is shewn, made of Indian silver, engraved with the following inscription: "Bacchus, the son of Semele and Jupiter, from the Indians to Apollo at Delphi." But the Indians who dwell in the vicinity of Caucasus and the river Cophenus say, it was an Assyrian who made this expedition, and who was well acquainted with the history of the Theban Bacchus. The Indians who dwell in the district between the Indus and the Hydraotes, and the parts beyond as far as the Ganges, affirm that Bacchus was the son of the river Indus; that the Theban Bacchus was his disciple, who first introduced the use of the Thyrsus and the Orgies; and that he was the son of Jupiter, who lived in his father's thigh till the ordinary time of delivery; and that there was a mountain near Nysa called Meros. To this is added, that shoots of the vine were carried from Thebes and planted on Nysa, in honour of Bacchus, and that it was there that Alexander celebrated the orgies. But the inhabitants in and about Nysa affirm, that Alexander did not ascend the mountain, though from motives of ambition and love of antiquity he was anxious to do it, fearing lest his Macedonians, if once they tasted of the juice of the grape, of which they had not drank for a long time, might be disposed to return home, or might revive their love of wine, after being so long used to water. From this consideration, he passed by Nysa, satisfied with having offered up prayers and sacrifices to Bacchus at the foot of the mountain.* I know what I write will not be pleasing to some people, because all who served under Alexander have not confined themselves to what is strictly true. But truth in history is indispensable, to which had

* See the accounts of Quintus Curtius and Arrian on Alexander's conduct at Nysa, from both of which Philostratus differs.

they adhered, Alexander would not have been robbed of his due praise; for I think that his not going up the mountain, from the motive of keeping sobriety in his army, redounded more to his honour than had he done it, as they say, and committed all the frantic actions attributed to him.

CHAP. X.

DAMIS writes, he did not see the rock Aornos, though it was not far from Nysa. As it lay not exactly in this route, their guide was afraid of turning out of the direct road. He says, he heard it had been taken by Alexander, and was called *Aornos*, not from its being fifteen stadia high, (for the sacred birds are seen to fly much higher than it) but from the circumstance of its having an aperture* on its top, which is said to attract all birds that fly about it, not unlike what is observed in the vestibule of the Parthenon† at Athens, and in many places of Phrygia and Lydia. Hence the rock was called Aornos, and was destitute of birds.

* This aperture in the rock, Olearius supposes, was the spring of water mentioned by Arrian in his description of it. B. iv. c. 28.—But Arrian says, the water was pure; wherein he differs from Philostratus, who makes it deadly to birds, and hence its name of Aornos.

† At Athens, where Minerva's temple stands,
 There never crow nor boding raven flies,
 Not tho' the fat, and oily sacrifice
 Allure his smell, and call his willing eyes.
 Not that he fears Minerva's vain pretence,
 Or banish'd from her train for an offence;
 But 'tis the noxious vapour drives him thence.

C H A P. XI.

IN travelling towards the Indus, they met a boy mounted on an elephant, to which he was applying his goad with some severity. Apollonius surprised at this, said, What is the duty, Damis, of a good horseman? What else, replied he, than to sit well on his horse, to manage him expertly with the rein, to curb him, if unruly, and, above all things, to take care in passing through swampy and marshy ground, not to let him sink in it. What, said Apollonius, is nothing else required of a good horseman? Yes, there is, said Damis; a good horseman is to loosen the reins in going up hill, and tighten them in coming down; he is sometimes to stroke his mane and ears, and not always use the whip. I should commend the man who rode in this way. But what are the qualifications that merit most praise in the man who rides a war-horse prepared for battle? The same I have mentioned, Apollonius, with the additional ones of knowing how to attack the enemy and defend himself; how to charge and retreat with safety; and lastly, how to accustom his horse not to be frightened with the clashing of shields, or brightness of helmets, or sound of trumpets, or shouting of the combatants; for to know all this is necessary for the horseman. And what is your opinion, said Apollonius, of the boy who rides the elephant? * That he is a much greater object of admiration than the horseman described; for that a child should manage a creature of such prodigious bulk, and guide him

* The man who conducts the elephant generally rides on his neck, and uses an iron rod, hooked at the end, or a bodkin, with which he pricks the head or sides of the ears, in order to push the creature forward, or to make him turn. BUFFON.

Elephants allow themselves to be led, and commanded by a child.

Same.

with a sort of shepherd's crook, which you see him casting on his back like an anchor, and that this child should not be afraid of his look, figure, or size, appears to me so wonderful, that had I heard it from another, I call to Minerva to witness, I should not have believed it. Now, said Apollonius, suppose the boy was to be set up for sale, would you buy him, Damis? Certainly, said he, was I to give all I am worth for him; for to be able to govern one of the largest animals in the world, as if a captured citadel, gives one the idea of the generous and noble disposition of the boy. But if you did purchase him, said Apollonius, what would you do with him without the elephant? I would set him over my house and servants, as I think he would govern them better than I do myself. But do you think yourself, said Apollonius, unequal to the task of managing your own affairs? I am not more unequal than yourself, replied Damis; for you know I have left all to wander up and down with you, addicted to the study of philosophy, and only anxious to learn what is doing abroad. But suppose, said Apollonius, you purchased the boy, and had two horses, the one fit for running, and the other for war, would you set him indifferently on both? I should, perhaps, set him on the race-horse, as I see other men do the same; for is it to be supposed he could ride a war-horse, trained and ready for the field, who is not able to carry a shield, or a breast-plate, or a helmet; things so necessary for the rider? And how should he be able to brandish a spear, who has not strength to throw a dart or shoot an arrow, and who has not yet lost the lisping accent of a child. Then, said Apollonius, I suppose it is something else which directs and puts the elephant in motion, and not the boy, whom you so much admire. But what can it be, said Damis, for I see nothing on his back except the boy?*

* The elephant, when tamed, becomes the most gentle and most obedient of all domestic animals. He is so fond of his keeper, that he caresses

Of all creatures, said Apollonius, the elephant is the most docile, and when once accustomed to submit to man, he bears all things from him; he conforms to his taste, and loves to be fed out of his hand like a favourite dog. When his keeper approaches you will see him fawning on him with his trunk, and letting him put his head into his mouth, which he keeps open as long as he likes, and which we saw practised among the Nomades. But at night he is said to bewail his servitude, not with a loud noise, as at other times, but with a low, and piteous murmur. And if a man happens to surprise him in this situation, he restrains his sorrow as if he were ashamed. For which reason, said Apollonius, it is the elephant who governs himself, and the bent of his own docile nature, which influences his conduct more than the boy on his back who seems to manage him.

CHAP. XII.

ON coming to the river Indus, they say they saw a drove of elephants swimming across it, and learnt the following account of them, namely, that some live in marshy ground, others in the mountains, and some in the plains: and that all are taken for the purposes of war,* and fight with towers on their backs, which are capable of holding from ten to fifteen men, who from them, as from turreted gates, shoot their arrows, and dart their javelins. The animal himself uses his trunk as a hand in throwing missive weapons. In proportion as a Libyan elephant surpasses in

caresses him; and anticipates his commands by foreseeing every thing that will please. BUFFON.

* Of all animals, the elephant is the most serviceable in war; for he can easily carry four men armed with muskets, bows, or spears.

Note in Buffon.

bulk a Nysæan horse, so does an Indian elephant surpass one of Libya.* Some writers have noticed the age of the elephant, and its great longevity,† and assert they accidentally met with one near Taxila, (one of the largest towns in India) which the inhabitants perfumed with sweet odors and adorned with garlands.‡ He was said to be one of those elephants who fought under King Porus against Alexander, and by reason of his gallant exploits in the field, was dedicated to the sun by the Macedonians. He had round his teeth, or horns,§ rings of gold, on which were inscribed Greek characters to this effect, “Alexander, the son of Jupiter dedicates Ajax to the sun.” Ajax was the name given to the elephant by Alexander,|| thinking he was entitled to this distinguished appellation. The natives of the place computed three hundred and fifty years from the battle, without taking into the account his age at the time it was fought.

CHAP. XIII.

JUBA,†† who was formerly King of Libya, says in his history, that the Libyans had once a battle in which they

* In general the elephants of Asia exceed in size, strength, &c. those of Africa.

† If captive elephants live 120, or 130 years, those which are free, and enjoy all the rights of nature, ought to exist at least 200.

‡ At festivals elephants' tusks are ornamented with rings of gold and silver—their ears and cheeks are painted, they are crowned with garlands, and a number of little bells are fixed on different parts of their body. BUFFON.

§ As some people call them.

|| Alexander the Great was the first European who ever mounted an elephant. Those which he took from Porus, he caused to be brought into Greece, and they were perhaps the same which Pyrrhus several years after employed against the Romans in the Tarentine war, and with which Curius Dentatus came triumphant into Rome. BUFFON.

Notwithstanding the authority of Buffon, I think it may be doubted whether they were the same.

†† Juba the historian was son of Juba the first King of Numidia, and

rode on elephants, that the elephants were divided into two parties, and that the tusks of one of the parties were marked with the figure of a turret, and those of the other were not. When night came on, which ended the fray, this writer adds, that the turretted party were worsted, and fled to mount Atlas, and that he who did not live till four hundred years after, caught one of the fugitives, which still retained the impression of the turret, without its being worn away by time. Juba thinks the tusks of elephants are to be looked on as horns,* because, like the temples, they grow from the scull, and are not contiguous, like the teeth of other animals; and next, because they continue in the state they first grow, and do not shed and grow again, like teeth in general. However, I do not agree in opinion with this author: for horns, if not all, at least those of stags, shed and grow again. As for teeth, such as are human, drop and grow again, but no animal whose teeth are outstanding,† or canine, drop of themselves; or if they do, ever come again; for nature has set them in the jaws, as armour for their protection. To this may be added, that every year a circular ring is formed at the extremities of horns, as is visible in those of goats, sheep, and oxen. Teeth from the first are smooth, and if not broken, remain so, seeing that they appear to be of

and Mauritania. He was led to Rome among the captives to adorn the triumph of Cæsar. His captivity was the source of the greatest honours, and his application to study procured him more glory than he could have obtained from the inheritance of a kingdom. He wrote the history of Rome in Greek, of which but few fragments remain. He wrote on the nature of animals, from which I suppose Philostratus has taken his information in the text.

* But Herodotus, says Pliny, who wrote long before Juba, called them *dentes*, and not *cornua*.

† Hence no conclusion can be drawn from the text whether they are horns or not.

a strong nature and substance. Horns are peculiar only to such animals as divide the hoof. The elephant has five toes,* the sole of the foot, consisting of several divisions, which are united by soft membranes, as if nature intended him to stand only on moist ground. Besides, nature in supplying all horned creatures with bones that are perforated, has joined a kind of horny substance to each: but the ivory of the elephant is formed complete, and in all parts uniform; and yet, if nicely examined, a small aperture will be found in it, as is in teeth. The teeth of elephants living in marshy grounds are livid, porous, and not easily manufactured, an account of the many cavities and excrescences which obstruct the artist. The teeth of those living in the mountains,† are smaller than the last, but then they are very white, and capable of being wrought. The best of all are the teeth of those elephants that live in the plains, because they are the largest, whitest, most easily manufactured, and take whatever shape the hand of the artist is pleased to give them. If we were disposed to describe the manners of the elephants, we might take our account from the Indians, who reckon those of the marsh light and giddy, of the mountain obstinate and treacherous, and not to be relied on, unless they stand in need of our assistance: and those of the plain, gentle, tractable, and easily instructed.‡ These are the elephants who write and dance,§ and move with great agility to the

* The short foot of the elephant is divided into five toes, which are so covered with the skin as not to be visible. BUFFON.

† Buffon differs from Philostratus in his account of the mountain elephant, he says the strongest, and most courageous of the species, and which have the largest tusks, are called *mountain elephants*.

‡ The elephant soon learns to comprehend signs, and even to understand the expression of sounds. He never mistakes the voice of his master.

§ He learns to trace regular characters with an instrument as small
as

sound of a pipe, and sometimes even spring from the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

WHEN Apollonius saw the elephants passing the river, and the whole troop, which consisted of about thirty, under the direction of the smallest among them; and when he saw the largest carrying their young on their prominent teeth, and girthing them with their trunks, as if with a band, he said to Damis, all this they do without any orders, all by their own natural prudence and discretion. You see how after the manner of porters* they take up their young, and how secure they carry them. I see it, answered Damis, and I see how wisely and prudently they do it. Whence then arises that silly dispute among idle cavillers, whether the love of parents for their young is natural or not? The voice of these elephants crieth that it is natural, who have not learnt what they do by living among men, as they have learnt other things. It comes from instinct, together with that provident care which makes them so solicitous to supply their young with food, and with all they want. And this you may assert, said Apollonius, not of the elephant alone, which makes the nearest approaches to man in prudence and council; but of the bear, which merits more consideration, who, though one of the most savage of beasts,† does all she

as a quill.—Both Pliny and Ælian speak of their writing and dancing, if the making *quosdam inconditos motus*, can be termed dancing—says the former.

Buffon says they delight in the sound of musical instruments, and move in cadence to the trumpet and tabor.

* The mothers carry their young firmly embraced in their trunks.

BUFFON.

† The females seem to love their offspring with an astonishing ardour. They fight, and expose themselves to every peril in order to save

can for her young. Even among wolves* who are only intent on plunder, you will find the female protecting her young, while the male is abroad in search of food for their preservation. In like manner it may be observed of panthers, who by reason of the natural heat of their constitution, are most anxious to become dams, from the circumstance of their then ruling the males, and managing the affairs of the family; whilst the males in the meantime suffer all things for the sake of their young. There is a story told of the lioness, that she draws the leopard into a love-intrigue, and takes him to the lion's lair in the open fields; but afterwards, when the time of her delivery draws nigh, she retires to the mountains, and there brings forth her young, which from their being spotted like their sire, she conceals, and nourishes in the most secret thickets, pretending that she absents herself for the sake of hunting; for if the lion happens to discover them, he tears them to pieces, as being illegitimate. I suppose you recollect some of Homer's lions,† who with stern countenance watch their young, and collect all their strength when they prepare themselves for battle. The tigress‡

save their young; who are not unformed for some time after birth, as the ancients alleged; but grow nearly as quick as other animals.

BUFFON.

* Though like other females, the she-wolf is naturally more timid than the male, yet when her young are attacked she defends them with intrepidity—and never leaves them till their education is finished.

BUFFON.

† Thus in the center of some gloomy wood,
With many a step the lioness surrounds
Her tawny young, beset by men and hounds;
Elate her heart, and rousing all her pow'rs,
Dark o'er the fiery balls each hanging eye-brow low'rs.

HOMER, b. xvii.

‡ The rage of the tigress rises to the utmost when robbed of her young.

one of the fiercest animals in the parts bordering on the Red Sea, is said to run to the ships when lying at anchor in search of her young, and if found, returns with joy; but if the ships have sailed, she moans her young on the shore, and sometimes even dies of grief for the loss of them.* Who is unacquainted with the manners of birds? to instance only the eagle and stork, who never build their nests without putting into them, the one an eagle stone,† and the other the lychnites;‡ and all this done to assist them in hatching their eggs, and driving away the serpents. If we take into consideration the living creatures of the sea, we shall not greatly admire the attachment of the dolphins to their young, on account of their natural benevolence. But whales, and sea-calves,§ and the race of noxious fish, shall we not make them the subjects of our admiration? When I was at Ægæ, I saw a sea-calf that was kept for the purpose of going out and hunting with dogs; the sea-calf I saw bewailing her dead young, and for three days together abstaining from food, though one of the most voracious of marine creatures. Whenever the whale is compelled to fly without being able to defend her young, she hides them in the cavities of her jaws. Even

* When all hope of recovering her young is lost, she expresses the exquisiteness of her sorrow by dismal and hideous howlings, which excite terror wherever they reach.

† *Aëtites*—called from *αἶτος*, an eagle—from being supposed to be found in the eagle's nest.—There are many wonderful virtues ascribed to this stone by Galen, Pliny, &c. but they seem to be entirely founded on superstition and fancy, and accordingly it is, I believe, never used in the present practice of physic. What is now called an eagle stone is one which has a loose nucleus rattling within it.

‡ *Lychnites*—called from the resemblance it bears to the blaze of a candle, which gives a singular grace to it and makes it very rich,—Pliny.—But why chosen by the stork I cannot learn?

§ See Pliny—b. ix. c. 8. for an account of the attachment of the Dolphin for her young—for that of whales, b. ix. c. 6.—and for that of phocæ or seal-calves—c. 13. same book.

the viper has been seen licking the young serpents she had brought forth, and polishing them with her tongue. Far be it from us, Damis, to give credit to the foolish story,* which says, that the young of vipers are produced without a mother—a phenomenon supported by neither nature nor experience. I hope, said Damis, resuming the conversation, you will allow Euripides to be praised for that iambic, which he puts in the mouth of Andromache, “Man lives in his offspring.” I allow it, said Apollonius, for I think it wisely and divinely spoken, but he would have spoken more wisely, and with more truth, had he applied the sentiment to all living creatures. Then you are of opinion, said Damis, it would have run better thus, “Every living creature lives in its offspring;” I do agree with you in this, said Apollonius, for it is more consonant to truth.

CHAP. XV.

BUT tell me Apollonius, did we not say in the beginning of this discourse of elephants, that there is a wisdom and understanding in what they do. We did so, Damis, said Apollonius, and with reason, for if an intelligence did not govern them, they could not subsist, nor the nations among whom they live. And if that is so, replied Damis, why do they pass the river in a way so imprudent and disadvantageous to themselves. The least of all goes first, the rest follow according to their several sizes, and the largest brings up the rear. Whereas, for my part, I think the direct reverse should be practised. The largest should march in front, and make themselves a wall and rampart

* The foolish story may be found in Herodotus—(Thalia)—and is entirely fabulous.

to defend the rest. But, said Apollonius, they seem to me to fly from an enemy, whom perhaps we shall meet pursuing them by the print of their feet—and if that is so, their rear should be well secured against their pursuers, as is done in war, and of all creatures you will find the elephant the most observant of military tactics. Besides, if the largest passed first, their passing would not enable the rest to judge whether the depth of the water would suffer them to follow; for in that case, the passage would be easy and practicable to such as were tall, and difficult and dangerous to those that were not. But if the smallest were to pass, we might be sure the rest would have no difficulty in following. Moreover, if the largest went first, they would deepen the channel of the river to the small, for the mud and slime must necessarily be sunk, and formed into excavations, by reason of their great weight, and the bulk of their feet; whereas the lesser will not hinder the passage of the greater by any obstructions they can raise in the way.*

CHAP. XVI.

I HAVE found also in the writings of Juba, that elephants mutually assist each other when hunted; and if one is wounded, he is defended by the rest, and if they are so fortunate as to be able to extract the weapon from the wound, they anoint it with the tears of the aloe, and stand round him, as if they were so many physicians. Many

* Pliny says, the elephants march always in troops. The eldest of them leads the van, and the next to him in age brings up the rear. When they are about to pass a river they make the least of their company pass foremost, from an apprehension, that if the biggest went first, they would, by treading the bed of the river, make the ford the deeper.—B. viii, c. 5.

philosophical discourses of this kind they had together, most of which were taken from such occurrences of the day as deserved to be noticed.

CHAP. XVII.

THE account set down by Nearchus, and Python,* concerning the Acesines and its junction with the Indus, and of its producing serpents† seventy cubits long, was found to be correct. I mean, however, to defer what I have to say on the subject of serpents, till I come to speak of the manner of hunting them which is given by Damis. When our travellers approached the Indus, and were ready to pass it, they asked the Babylonian, their guide, if he knew any thing of its passage? He said not, as he had never passed it, and therefore knew not whether it was fordable or not. And why did you not, said they, provide yourself with a guide? Because, replied he, I have one here who will direct you. Whereupon he produced a letter which served all the purposes of a guide, and for this mark of attention Bardanes was highly commended. For he had written a letter to the Satrap to whom the department of the Indus was committed (though it was not within his jurisdiction) and in it reminded him of former favours without adverting to any recompense for them, as all requitals for favours conferred were not agreeable to his established custom: at the same time however he said, if he treated Apollonius well, and conveyed him wherever

* Nearchus, an officer of Alexander in his Indian expedition. He was ordered to sail upon the Indian ocean with Onesicritus, and to examine it.—He wrote an account of this voyage, to which Philostratus here alludes.

† The name of Python is not set down by Rooke in his list of the writers of the Alexandrine history.

he wished, he would hold himself his debtor for such a mark of courtesy. He had besides given the guide gold, to be used only in cases of necessity, and to prevent all application to strangers. When the Indian received the letter, he said he valued it highly, and should honour Apollonius as much as if he had been recommended by the King of the Indians. Accordingly he ordered the royal passage-boat, and transports for the conveyance of his camels, and likewise supplied him with a guide for all that country which is bounded by the Hydraotes. He gave him also a letter to his own sovereign, in which he entreated him to use this Greek, and divine man, with the same respect he had been used by Bardanes.

CHAP. XVIII.

BY this means our travellers were conveyed over the Indus, whose breadth, where it is navigable, is about forty stadia across. The account given of this river is as follows, That it has its source in mount Caucasus, that it is greater there, than all the rivers of Asia, and that it receives in its course the tribute of many navigable streams.* That like the Nile, it overflows the adjacent country, carrying along with it manure sufficient for enriching the land, and giving the Indians an opportunity of sowing it, after the manner of the Egyptians. I do not venture to oppose what is said of the snows which lie on the Ethiopian, and

* The Indus is formed of ten principal streams, descending from the Persian and Tartarian mountains, besides five more rushing down on the eastern side of the *Sinde*, give to that country the name of *Panjab*, or the *five rivers*. These rivers were to be crossed by Alexander at a season when the periodical rains, already commenced in the northern mountains, had swollen them to an uncommon magnitude, and greatly increased their rapidity.

Catadupian mountains, on account of the authority of those who relate it; but I do not give credit to it, especially when I consider that the Indus is in the same predicament with the Nile, though the country above the Indus is not covered with snow. Moreover, I know a God has set the Ethiopians and Indians as the two extreme horns of the earth, and made black the people of the rising and setting sun. And how could such an effect take place without the heat of the summer was felt in the winter? But if the sun warms the earth the whole year round, how can it be supposed that snow falls, and that in such quantities as to overflow the banks of the rivers? and even if snow were to fall in those parts exposed to the sun's heat, how can it be supposed capable of spreading out into a sea, and supplying a river with water enough for the overflowing of Egypt.

CHAP. XIX.

WHILST our travellers were crossing the Indus,* they saw, according to the account they give, many hippopotami and crocodiles like those which are seen in sailing on the Nile. Besides, many flowers growing on its banks of the same species as is found in the river of Egypt. They learnt that the season was warm in winter, but quite suffocating in summer. To guard against this inconvenience, Providence has caused frequent rains to fall in this country. They heard from the Indians that their King

* The Indus or Sinde, as we are informed from Sanscreeet authority, in its early course was anciently called *Nilab*, or the Blue River, from the dark hue of its waters; and this native appellation, added to the crocodiles and the Egyptian beans that grew on its banks, will in some degree account for the strange mistake of Alexander, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile in this region of Northern India.

goes to the river whenever it happens to overflow, and offers to it a sacrifice of bulls and black horses. White is a colour less esteemed among them than black, which is that of their own complexion. When the offering is made, they say the King throws a golden measure into the river, like that with which corn is measured. Why this ceremony is performed is not known; but the general idea is, that the measure is cast into the water either for the obtaining an abundance of fruit, or for preventing the river exceeding its bounds, and deluging the land.

CHAP. XX.

AS soon as they passed the river, the guide appointed by the Satrap conducted them straight to Taxila* the residence of the King. According to the account of our travellers the dress† worn by the Indians on this side of the Indus, was made of a kind of flax with which the country abounded, and their shoes of the bark of trees. When it rains they wear something like a hat. The principal men of the country were clad in the byssus that grows on a tree which resembles our white poplar in its stem, and the willow in its leaves. Apollonius said he liked the

* Taxila is situated on the eastern bank of the Indus, on the site supposed of the present city of Attack.—Strabo describes it as the metropolis of a kingdom placed between the Indus and Hydaspes; in extent not inferior to Egypt; not less distinguished by the elegance of its structures than by the wisdom of its inhabitants.—It is the only place on the Indus where the slackened rapidity of its stream conveniently admits a bridge.

† Arrian, in his Indian history says, the Indians wear linen garments; the substance whereof they are made, grows on trees; and this is indeed flax or something much whiter and finer than flax, the swarthinness of their bodies does not make us believe it whiter than it is if what he means must be cotton.

byssus, as being of the same sable colour with that of his cloak. This byssus is brought into Egypt and used for many sacred purposes. Taxila is not unlike the ancient Ninus, and is walled in the manner of other Greek towns. It was the royal residence of him who possessed that country which was formerly under the dominion of Porus. Before the walls of the city stood a temple whose dimensions were nearly one hundred feet, built of porphyry, within which was a chapel, too small in proportion to the size of the temple, which was large, spacious, and surrounded with pillars; but notwithstanding, the chapel was worthy of admiration. Tablets of brass were hung on the walls with becoming inscriptions, representing the deeds of Alexander and Porus in orichalcum, and silver, and gold, and bronze. The elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets, shields, spears, and javelins, were all represented in iron. In these pictures appeared what formed the principal features of good painting, such as are found in those drawn by Zeuxes, and Polygnotus, and Euphranor; artists who exhibited in their colourings light and shade, and relief, and all the soft and lively tints which give animation to a whole. The various metals of which they were composed, coalesced and embodied like so many colors; and even the mild character of Porus himself was seen expressed in them, but the pictures themselves were not exhibited till after the death of Alexander. In them the Macedonian was seen as conqueror, and Porus bleeding at his feet, to whom Alexander is restoring India, which he had conquered. It is said, when Porus heard of the death of Alexander, he wept, and regretted him as a mild and generous prince. After his departure from India, and during his life, Porus never acted in his regal capacity, though he had his permission, and royal license; he ruled the Indians as Satrap, and conducted himself with great moderation; and all he did was to the advantage of his sovereign lord.

CHAP. XXI.

THE nature of the history I write does not allow me to pass over the account I learnt of Porus. When Alexander was on the point of invading India, some of his friends advised him to make alliances with such nations as lived beyond the Hyphasis and Ganges, presuming that Alexander would never make war against all India united. To this proposal, Porus replied, if the temper of my subjects is such that I cannot be safe without allies,* it will be better for me not to be a King. To one who told him Alexander had conquered Darius, he said, Alexander had conquered a King, but not a man. When the groom to whom was committed the care of the mules, brought him his favourite elephant, and said, Here is the elephant that will carry you, No, said Porus, I will carry him, if I am what I used to be. To another who advised him to offer sacrifices to the river in order to prevent its receiving the Macedonian transports, and giving a passage to Alexander, he answered, it is not the part of men who take up arms to have recourse to imprecations. After the battle, wherein the conduct of Porus appeared in the eyes of Alexander divine and more than human, one of Porus's friends told him, that had he submitted to the Macedonian as a suppliant, and not been vanquished in battle, such numbers of Indians would not have fallen by the sword, nor would you yourself have received a wound. To which Porus made this reply, when I understood how much Alexander loved glory, I knew that by addressing him as a suppliant, he would only have looked on me as

* Notwithstanding what Philostratus says here, it appears from Diodorus Siculus, and the other writers, that Porus had Abisares as an ally, who after the battle surrendered with him.

his slave, but that by fighting him, he would consider me as a King ; and therefore more deserving of his admiration than compassion ; and in this I was not deceived, for by shewing myself such as Alexander found me, I in one day both lost and gained every thing. This is what I learnt of Porus* from the Indians, to which they added, that he was the most beautiful man of the country, taller than any one since the siege of Troy, and very young when he encountered Alexander.

CHAP XXII.

WHILST Apollonius and his companions were waiting in the temple till their arrival was made known to the King, he said to Damis, Do you think there is such an art as that of painting? I do, replied Damis, if there is truth in any thing. What does it perform, said Apollonius? It mixes together, said Damis, different colours, as blue with green, white with black, and red with yellow. And why, continued Apollonius, does it mix them, since it is not merely for shew, as if an amusement of girls. It is done, said Damis, for the sake of imitation, to represent, for instance, a dog, a horse, a man, a ship, or any other object under the sun ; and even the sun himself, who at one time appears in a chariot drawn by four horses (as may be seen in this place) and at another with a torch lighting up the heavens, when he paints the sky and dwellings of the Gods. You see then, said Apollonius, that the art of painting is nothing but imitation. What else? replied Damis, for if it cannot perform this, it will appear ridiculous, an accidental union of several colours. Apollonius continued, what will you say, Damis, of the appear-

* This account of Porus corresponds nearly with that given by all the writers on the subject.

ances which are visible in the heavens when the clouds unite and separate, such as centaurs, tragelaphs;* and even wolves and horses? are not they the effects of the imitative art? I think so, said Damis. Do you suppose then, said Apollonius, a God will turn painter, and leave his winged chariot wherein he rides, and governs all things in Heaven and earth; and will he, do you think, sit as if at play, describing figures as children do in the sand. Hereat Damis blushed, and blushed from a consciousness of his discourse having concluded in an absurdity. But Apollonius, who was never harsh in his reproof, without forsaking him in his perplexity, said, I suppose you never meant to say any thing which could have borne such a comment. As to the appearances alluded to, which are carried to and fro through the air, they are merely accidental, uninfluenced by the deity; and we who are naturally prone to imitation, form out of them whatever figures our imagination pleases. This point then, said Damis, we may consider as established, it being what is most probable and consonant to reason. The imitative art, said Apollonius, is two-fold, the one whereof engages the hand and mind in describing what it chuses, and is called the art of painting: and the other employs the mind alone in forming likenesses. Not two-fold replied Damis, for there is a more perfect kind of painting, which expresses by the mind and hand likenesses; and the other is but a part of it which conceives and expresses likenesses by the mind alone, and from want of knowledge in the art cannot make use of the hand in drawing them. What would you think, Damis, said Apollonius, of a man who had lost the use of his hands by some wound or distemper? That he would never be a painter, from his total ignorance of the use of a pencil, instrument, or any colour

* Tragelaphs—τραγελαφος—*hircicervus*, animal *hirci* and *cervi* figuram mixtam habens.

whatever. Herein, said Apollonius, we are both agreed, and it must be allowed that the imitative faculty is derived from nature, and the graphic from art, which may be said also of the plastic. But methinks, Damis, you yourself do not make painting consist in mere colours, inasmuch as the ancient artists made use of but one colour, and as the art improved, of four, and then of a greater number. A design which consists but of simple lines, without any colour, of mere light and shade, may in truth be called a picture. Designs of this kind give us likeness, figure, character, modesty, courage, and yet they have no colouring, representing neither the blood nor the colour of the hair, nor the beard on the chin: and though composed of but one colour, they mark the difference between a tawny and a white man. In proof of this, were we to design an Indian with white lineaments, the idea would still be that of a black man. For the flat nose, curled locks, prominent cheeks, and a certain fire about the eyes, cause such features as are presented to the sight to appear black, and to represent an Indian to all who are capable of viewing and examining such figures with judgment; and therefore I should say, that they who behold pictures require a knowledge of the imitative art to judge of them. For no person is able to praise, as it deserves, the painted representation of a horse, or a bull, who has not first formed in his mind an idea of the animal whose likeness is given. The Ajax, painted by Timomachus,* as mad, could not be commended according to its merit, if a person had not first conceived an idea of Ajax in that situation, fatigued and weary after the slaughter of the cattle, sitting alone, and taken up with the thoughts of putting himself to death.

* Timomachus, a painter of Byzantium in the age of Sylla and Marius, whose paintings of Ajax, and his Medea murdering her children, were purchased for 80 talents by Julius Cæsar, and deposited in the temple of Venus at Rome.

As to these curious works executed by the command of Porus, we cannot say they are solely the works of sculpture, because they resemble painting; nor can we say they are the works of painting, as they are done in brass. But they are the works of a man equally skilled in casting metals and in painting, such as Vulcan is represented in Homer,* when he describes the making of the armour of Achilles; for there the ground appears covered with the dying and the dead, and even red with blood, though the whole work is executed in brass.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHILST Apollonius was amusing himself in conversation of this kind, certain messengers, attended by an interpreter, came from the King to inform him, that it was the royal pleasure Apollonius should be his guest for three days, as the laws of the country did not allow strangers to remain longer than that time in the city. He was then conducted to the palace. Of the walls of the city we have already spoken; it was divided, according to the relation of our travellers, into narrow streets, with great regularity, after the Attic fashion. The houses appeared on the outside and in front, as if they had but one story! yet when you entered them, they were found to have as many apartments under ground as above it.

CHAP. XXIV.

THEY visited the temple of the sun,† in which was kept an elephant called Ajax, dedicated to that God. They saw in it statues of Alexander and Porus, the former made of gold and the latter of bronze. The walls of the temple were of porphyry, enriched with ornaments of gold, which

* See Homer, b. xviii.

† If the account of this temple of the sun, as given by Philostratus, appears suspicious, what shall we say to the account that is given in

emitted a light, like the rays of the sun, whose image was adorned with pearls, arranged in a symbolical order, such as is practised by the barbarians in all sacred things.

CHAP. XXV.

NO pomp nor pageantry was visible in the palace; no spearmen or life-guards appeared, but a few domestics, such as are usual in the houses of our chief citizens. Of the persons in waiting who had familiar access to the King, there were not more than three or four. This simplicity was much more approved of by Apollonius than the proud magnificence of Babylon. What he admired most was the great simplicity which reigned in the interior of the palace through all its apartments.

CHAP. XXVI.

FROM all Apollonius saw, he supposed the Indian prince was a philosopher, whom he thus addressed by an interpreter, and said, I am happy, O King! to find you study philosophy; and I am equally happy, returned he, that you think so. Apollonius went on—is the moderation which I see subsisting every where the effect of established laws, or has it been produced by yourself? The laws, said the King, prescribe moderation; but I carry my idea of it beyond the letter, and even spirit of them. I am rich, and want little. Whatever I possess more than is necessary for my own use, is considered as appertaining to my friends. Happy are you, said Apollonius, in being possessed of such a treasure, and in preferring friends,

the Aycen Akbery of the one at Jagernaut, on the building of which was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one ever beheld the immense edifice without being struck with amazement—the walls were 150 cubits high, and 19 cubits thick; on its dome, constructed of stone, were engraved the sun, and the stars, &c. The worship of the sun in the east was the great fountain of all its idolatry, and ever has been the most ancient superstition of all nations.

from whom are derived so many blessings, to gold and silver. But it is my enemies, replied the King, on whom I bestow my riches; for by them I keep in subjection the neighbouring barbarians, who formerly used to infest my country, and who now, instead of making incursions themselves on my territories, do not suffer others to make them. Here Apollonius asked, if Porus was accustomed to send presents to them? The King said, *Porus loved war,* but I love peace.* With these words Apollonius was so delighted, that he said to one Euphrates, whom he rebuked for not conducting himself like a philosopher, *Let us reverence Phraotes*, which was the name of the Indian prince. To a Satrap, who was under many obligations to him, and on that account was desirous to bind his head with a golden mitre, set round with precious stones, he replied, if I was really an admirer of such things, I should at this time, in the presence of Apollonius, cast them all from me; for to deck myself out in ornaments, to which I have not been accustomed, would betray an ignorance of my guest, and a forgetfulness of what was due to myself. After this, Apollonius asked concerning the kind of diet he used? To which the King said, I only drink as much wine as what I use in my libations to the sun. The game I kill in hunting is all eaten by my friends; and the exercise I get in the chase is found sufficient for myself. My chief food consists of vegetables, and the pith and fruit of the palm tree, together with the produce of a well-watered garden; besides I have many dishes from such trees as I cultivate with my own hands. With these particulars Apollonius was much pleased, and whilst he was listening to them, he cast many a look on Damis.

* I agree with Cicero in thinking the most unfair peace is to be preferred to the most just war, and with Apollonius in reverencing the character of Phraotes for loving peace.

Bella velint, Martemque ferum rationis egentes :
Candida Pax homines, trux decet ira feras,

C H A P. XXVII.

AFTER talking, and settling every thing relative to the road leading to the Brachmans to their mutual satisfaction, the King ordered the guide sent by the King of Babylon to be taken care of in the way it was customary to treat all who come from thence; but the guide sent by the orders of the Satrap was dismissed, after being supplied with all necessaries for his journey. Then the King himself, taking Apollonius by the hand, and commanding the interpreter to withdraw, addressed him in the Greek tongue, and said, Will you make me your guest? Apollonius, surprised at what he heard, asked why he did not at first speak to him in that language? Because, said the King, I was rather apprehensive I might appear too presuming, either from not knowing myself, or not recollecting, that it had pleased fortune to make me a barbarian. But at present, overcome by the love I have for you, and by the pleasure you seem to take in my company, I can no longer conceal myself; and how well I am acquainted with the Greek tongue I hope to give you many proofs. Why, then, said Apollonius, did not you rather invite me to be your guest, than command me to make you mine? Because, said the King, I look on you as my superior in virtue, for of all gifts a prince can possess, I deem wisdom the brightest.* When he uttered these words, he conducted Apollonius and his companions to the bath wherein he was used to bathe himself. The place was a garden, about a stadium in length, in the midst whereof was dug a tank or cistern, which received into it streams which were both cool and refreshing. On both sides of this tank were places set apart for running, and where the King sometimes exercised himself with the disc and javelin, after the Greek fashion. He was a man of about seven and twenty years of age, of a hale ro-

* *Solus Sapiens Rex*, is a paradox well known among the stoics.

bust constitution, and much accustomed to bodily exercise. When he had taken what diversion he thought necessary in this way, he plunged into the bath, and there amused himself with swimming. After bathing, they went to the royal feast, crowned with garlands, which was the custom of the Indians whenever they were admitted to feast in the King's palace.

CHAP. XXVIII.

HERE it is not improper, I think, to notice the fashion which they use at their meals, as it is particularly described by Damis. The King reclines on a bed of leaves, and near him not more than five of his own family. The rest of the company eat sitting. A table is raised in the midst like an altar, about the height of a man's knee, of a circular form, large enough to hold thirty men round it as a chorus. It is dressed out with laurels, and other leaves* resembling myrtle, which yield an ointment most grateful to the Indians. On this table are served up fish and fowl, as well as whole lions,† goats, and swine, with haunches of tygers,‡ which are the only joints of that animal eaten by the natives, from an idea, that when it is first born, it raises its fore feet to the rising sun. Each guest that is invited rises from his seat, advances to the table, takes part of what is set on it, and returns again to his place, eating some bread with it. When all are satisfied, gold and silver goblets are handed about, one of which is sufficient for ten guests. Out of these they drink with their bodies bent forward, after the way in which animals drink at a river.

* Sir William Jones has an ingenious essay on the Spikenard of the ancients, wherein he proves it to be the Valeriana Jatamansi of India, whose leaves it is probable are alluded to by Philostratus in the text as producing an agreeable odor.

† The flesh of the lion has a strong and disagreeable flavour; yet it is frequently eat by the Indians and negroes. BUFFON.

‡ The Indians eat the flesh of tygers, and find it neither unwholesome nor disagreeable. BUFFON.

Whilst thus employed, they have some feats of activity performed before them, which are attended with much risk, and require great skill and address. For instance, a boy, like one of our stage dancers, leaped from a height just as a javelin was thrown upwards from below, with such accuracy of measurement, as to the extreme ascent, that he seemed, by making a sobresault in the air, to suspend himself, and thereby alone prevent his falling on the weapon's point.* For the person who threw the javelin, before he let it out of his hand, carried it about the company, shewing its point, and making every one feel the sharpness of it.—Moreover, the shooting with a sling, and hitting a very hair; and a father's portraying even his own son standing fixed against a board, with javelins, as it were with line and compass, are quite common modes of amusement, and exercised by them whilst in their cups.

CH A P. XXIX.

DAMIS and his companions were amazed at what they saw, and thought it well worth seeing: they admired greatly the skill and dexterity of the performance. But Apollonius, who sat at the King's table, and eat of the same meat with him, paid little attention to it. He asked the King how he acquired the Greek language and philosophy, and said, he did not suppose they were indebted for it to masters, nor was it likely there were any persons in India of that description. At this the King smiling, said, our ancestors used to question all travellers who arrived by sea, whether they were pirates?† So common was then

* From the want of precision in the original text, or else evident corruption of it, the meaning of the above passage is rather guessed at, than comprehended.

† Relate, if business, or the thirst of gain

Engage your journey o'er the pathless main;

Where savage pirates seek, thro' seas unknown,

The lives of others, vent'rous of their own. *Od. b. 3.*

Such was the question proposed to Telemachus by Nestor.

Piracy

the crime considered, notwithstanding its enormity. But you seem to question all who come to you, whether they are philosophers, as if you supposed the most divine of human possessions was to be found amongst all men, without any distinction. I know with you Greeks the profession of philosophy is considered as a species of piracy; and I am informed that there is no man like yourself, at the same time that there are many of you who, like common robbers, put on the habit of philosophy, and strut about in loose flowing garments which belong to other men. And as pirates, who know that the sword of justice is suspended over them, spend their time in all manner of excess, so do these self-appointed philosophers indulge in love and wine, and dress themselves in the most effeminate way. The cause of all this is your laws, which say, that if any person adulterates the current coin, he is punished with death; or if he is guilty of substituting a spurious child, or any other like offence, he receives a suitable punishment; but if the same man imposes on the world a false philosophy, or adulterates it, no law exists for restraining him, nor is there any magistrate appointed for taking cognizance of it.

CHAP. XXX.

WITH us there are but few who make philosophy their study; and they who do, are tried and examined in the fol-

Piracy, formerly not a reproach.—Some people of the continent, says Thucydides, are even to this day a proof of this, who still attribute honour to such exploits, if genteelly performed. So also are the ancient poets, in whom those that sail along the coasts are every where equally accosted with this question, *Whether they are pirates?* as if neither they to whom the question was put would disown their employment, nor they who are desirous to be informed would reproach them with it.

Enstathius says, piracy was formerly not only accounted lawful, but honourable.—See *Wood's Homer*.

lowing manner: A young man, when he has reached his eighteenth year (which, I suppose with you, is the age of puberty) must go beyond the Hyphasis, and see those men to whom you are going. When he comes into their presence, he must make a public declaration of studying philosophy; and they have it in their power, if they think proper, to refuse admitting him to their society, if he does not come pure. What is meant by his coming pure is, "that there be no blemish on either his father's or mother's side, nor on that of any of his forefathers, even to the third generation; that none of his ancestors be found to have been unjust, or incontinent, or usurers." And when no stigma or mark of reproach is discovered, the youth's character is then examined into, and enquiry made whether he has a good memory;* whether his modesty is natural or assumed; whether he is fond of wine and good living; besides, whether he is given to vain boasting, to idle merriment, to passion, or evil speaking; and lastly, whether he be obedient to his father, and mother, and teachers; and above all, whether he makes a proper use of his beauty? What information concerns his parents and ancestors is collected from living testimony, and registered tablets, which are hung up for public inspection. Whenever an Indian dies, the magistrate appointed by the laws goes to the house of the deceased, and writes down an account of his life and actions. If the magistrate so appointed is discovered to have acted with duplicity, or suffered himself to have been imposed on, he is punished, and for ever after prohibited from holding any office in future, as one who

* Those Egyptians, says Herodotus, who live in the cultivated parts of the country are, of all whom I have seen, the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of memory beyond the rest of mankind. This attention to memory is agreeable to the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, and shews the connexion between the opinions of the Egyptians and Indians.

has falsified the life of a man. Such information as relates to the candidates themselves individually, is acquired by a minute investigation of their looks. We know that much of the human disposition is learnt from the eyes, and much from examining the eye-brows and cheeks; all which things being well considered,* wise men, and such as are deep read in nature, see the temper and disposition of men just as they see objects in a mirror. In this country philosophy is esteemed of such high price, and so honoured by the Indians, that it is very necessary to have all examined who approach her. In what manner the teachers are to act, and the pupils be examined, I think has now been sufficiently detailed.

CHAP. XXXI.

I WILL now tell you what relates to myself. My grandfather was a King, and of my own name, Phraotes. My father was a private man, and being left young and an orphan, the care of his kingdom fell into the hands of two of his near relations, who were appointed guardians by the laws of the Indians. They ruled the kingdom (I swear it by the sun) in a most despotic manner, which soon made them detested by their subjects, and their administration odious. A conspiracy was entered into by some of the chief men of the kingdom, who attacked them at a public festival, and murdered them, whilst in the act of sacrificing to the Indus. After this they seized on the government, and made themselves masters of the country. My father's friends, who were anxious for his safety (he was not then more than sixteen years of age) sent him to the other side of the Hyphasis, and committed him to the

* With these men Lavater would have been in great vogue.

care of the King there, whose dominions were greater than mine, and abounded more in riches. This prince wished to adopt him as his son; but my father declined the honour, saying, he would not struggle with that fortune which had deprived him of a kingdom. He therefore requested the King's permission to study philosophy with his wise men, from an idea that such a pursuit would enable him the better to bear his domestic misfortunes. When this same prince expressed his intention to restore him to his paternal throne, my father said, if you discover in me a real attachment to philosophy, restore me to what I have lost; if not, permit me to remain in my present privacy. When the King heard this, he waited on the sages in person, and said how much obliged he would be to them, if they would attend particularly to the young man whom he presented to them, and recommended to their care as a youth of a most ingenuous disposition. As they discovered something marked in his countenance, they took great pleasure in making him acquainted with all their knowledge, and were particularly desirous to communicate what they knew to one who seemed so anxious to learn. When seven years were expired the King fell sick, and as soon as he perceived his latter end draw nigh, he sends for my father, appoints him joint-heir with his own son in the kingdom, and promises him his daughter in marriage. However, as soon as my father found that the new King loved to associate with flatterers, and was addicted to wine and other vanities, and was besides of a suspicious, jealous temper towards himself, he addressed him in these words: "Keep your estates undivided, and possess your power without a partner;" for it would be ridiculous to think that he who was not able to keep a kingdom, which was his own by right, should rashly meddle with that which was another's. Give me, I pray you, your sister, and I will ask no more of your possessions. After obtaining his consent for the marriage, he retired into the neighbour-

hood of the wise men, and dwelt in one of the seven villages which the King settled on his daughter for her dowry.* I am the fruit of this marriage. I learnt from my father the Greek language, and was soon committed to the care of the wise men; sooner, perhaps, than what was fitting for my time of life (being then only in my twelfth year) and was brought up as their son. Such young men as come previously instructed in the literature of Greece, are esteemed in proportion as they are supposed to be more capable of receiving instruction, on account of the congeniality of their dispositions.

CHAP. XXXII.

AFTER the death of my parents, who died almost at the same time, I was carried by the wise men to the villages which were settled on my mother, and desired by them to attend to my own affairs, though not more than nineteen years of age. But alas! these villages had all been taken from me by my kind uncle, along with some adjoining farms which had been purchased by my father. My good uncle said they were all his property, and that I should consider it as a particular favour that I was suffered to live on a small pittance derived from my mother's freed men. I supported myself as well as I could, being attended but by four domestics. One day, whilst I was reading the play of the Heraclidæ,† a certain person came to me with

* In Persia it was the custom to bestow on their Queens particular cities, to provide them with veils and other parts of their dress.

† Argument of the Heraclidæ from Euripides.—Hercules being received among the Gods, and his children still persecuted by Eurystheus, fled for protection to Ceyx, King of Trachiniæ; but the latter being threatened with invasion by Eurystheus, was obliged to dismiss the suppliants, who took refuge in the more southern provinces. After many

a letter from one of my father's trusty friends, in which I was commanded to pass the Hydraotes without delay, and confer with him on the subject of the recovering my kingdom, and that there was good reason to hope that I might regain it, provided my own exertions were not wanting. From an idea that one of the Gods had put that play into my hands, I embraced the omen. As soon as I passed the river, information was brought me that one of the usurpers was dead, and the other besieged in his palace. I pushed on with vigour, making proclamation through all the towns I passed, that I was such a person's son, and was going to take possession of my kingdom. The people every where received me with open arms, and saluted me King, from my likeness to my grandfather. They came armed with short swords* and bows,† and their numbers daily increased. On my approaching the gates, the joy of the people was so great, that they snatched up the torches from the altar of the sun, and conducted me to the palace, singing with loud voice the praises of my father and grandfather. The usurper, who lay concealed like a drone, and whom the people had shut up within the walls, I could not save from perishing, though I used all my eloquence for the purpose.

many calamities they at last sought an asylum at Athens, and sitting as suppliants at the altar of mercy, besought the assistance of that generous race. The Athenians, deaf to the menaces of Eurystheus, levied an army to withstand the invader: his four sons fell in the battle, and Eurystheus himself was slain in the pursuit by Hyllus, the son of Hercules and Dejanira, who carried his head to Alcmena.—Dryden wrote a play called the Maiden Queen, the plot of which he seems to have borrowed from the story of this Indian King's recovery of his throne.

* Their foot soldiers carry swords of a vast breadth, though scarce exceeding three cubits in length.—ARRIAN'S *Indian History*.

† They usually carry a bow of the same length with the bearer, which they lay on the ground, and place their left foot thereon to bend it, by which means they draw the string far back.—*Same*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

WHEN Apollonius heard this, he said, you have, O King! exactly fulfilled the return of the Heraclidæ, and the Gods are to be praised for the assistance afforded to a virtuous man returning to his country. But as we are on the subject of the wise men of India, tell me whether they are the men whom Alexander formerly invited to a conference, and with whom he discoursed philosophically on the nature of the heavens. No, said the King, the people of whom you speak were the Oxydracæ,* a nation free and independent, and always prepared for war, who, it is said, have invaded the province of philosophy, without ever having made any useful discovery in it, or done any thing worthy of credit. But the men who are really entitled to the character of being wise, dwell in the country situate between the Hyphasis and Ganges, which was never penetrated by Alexander, not from any fears of the consequence, but from the omens being, as I suppose, unpropitious. For had he passed the Hyphasis, and subdued the country, he never could have made himself master of the castle, the seat of these sages, even had he brought with him ten thousand Achilleses and thirty thousand Ajaxes. It is not the custom of these men to make war on an enemy; but should an enemy make war on them, they drive him off by the means of tempests and thunders, whilst they remain safe under the immediate protection of the Gods. We are informed, that the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus, who overrun India with their armies, made a joint attack on them, and by the aid of various military engines, attempted

* The Oxydracæ seem to have been situated at the confluence of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, that is, the Rauvee and Jenaub. Col. Rennel supposes that the present city of Outch or Archa, might have been the capital of that martial race.

to surprise the place. During this time the sages seemed to do nothing in their own defence, remaining, as it was thought, unconcerned; but the moment the assailants advanced to storm their castle, they were repulsed by fiery whirlwinds* and thunders, which being hurled from above, fell dreadful on their armies. Then it was that Hercules threw away his golden shield, which these wise men found and laid up among their sacred treasures, from a respect to his character, and its singular sculpture. In it Hercules was represented as settling the boundaries of the earth at Gades, and forming two pillars of the corresponding mountains to shut out the ocean. From all which it appeared, that it was not the Theban, but the Egyptian Hercules who went to Gades, and fixed the limits of the earth.

CHAP. XXXIV.

WHILST they were talking in this manner, the sound of music was heard, accompanied with the flute. Apollonius asked the meaning of such mirth. The Indians, replied the King, are celebrating the praises of their sovereign, in order that he may have favourable dreams, and rise in health, with the interest of his subjects near his heart. In what light said Apollonius, do you consider this ceremony? Not in a ludicrous one, said the King; for it is admitted on account of the law, and of no other kind of admonition do I stand in need. Whenever a King acts with prudence and moderation, he acts in a manner more grateful to himself than to his people. With these words they both went to rest.

* This is one proof among many others that the Indians from time immemorial had the use of gunpowder. The missile weapons darted by these sages, in noise and effect resembling lightning and thunder, must be the *fire rockets* described in the sketches of the Hindoos.

CHAP. XXXV.

AS soon as day appeared, the King in person visited the chamber where Apollonius and his friends slept, and gently approaching the bed of the former, asked what was the subject of his meditations? for I suppose, you who drink water and despise wine, do not sleep. What, said Apollonius, is it your opinion that water-drinkers do not sleep? I think, said the King, they do sleep, but that what they take affects the eyes more than the mind; for if the mind be not composed and tranquil, the eyes cannot take rest, as is visible in the case of mad men, who cannot close their eyes on account of the perturbed state of their minds; for as their thoughts run quick from one object to another, their eyes at last acquire a wild and disordered look, like that of sleepless dragons. In order then to ascertain, said Apollonius, the nature of sleep, and what it indicates to mortals, let us inquire in what respect the sleep of him who drinks water is inferior to that of him who drinks wine. Do not, said the King, change the state of the question after the manner of the sophists. I will grant you that intoxication does not promote sleep; for the mind of a man in that condition, like that of a Bacchanalian, will be disordered and filled with a thousand confused ideas. For all who try to sleep after a debauch, think themselves at one time whirled to the top of the house, and at another to the bottom, seeming all the while to suffer a giddiness something like what Ixion endures on the wheel. Therefore my question does not concern the drunken man, but him who drinks wine with temperance. We are to inquire, then, whether such a man sleeps better than he who entirely abstains from it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THEN Apollonius turning to Damis, said, you see what a strenuous adversary we have to deal with, one well exercised in the dialectic art. I do, replied Damis, and this is what perhaps may be proverbially called "*falling into the hands of Hercules*;"* and, in truth, the argument he has used comes home to us, and therefore I think it time you should shake off sleep and answer it. Hereupon Apollonius raised his head, and proceeded as follows: Without losing sight, O King! of what you have said, I hope to shew that the sleep of us who drink water is much sweeter† than that of those who drink wine. I think you

* Entre les mains de l'homme aux fesses noirs, dit le texte (ἐν τῷ Μελαμπυγῇ). On sait l'histoire des deux freres que leur mere avoit avertis de se garder de l'homme aux fesses noirs. Hercule les prit, les attacha par les pieds, & les mit derriere son dos suspendus à sa massue. Alors ils comprirent le sens de l'avis de leur mere.

As this story reads better in French than it would do in English, I have transcribed it from the last French translation of our author.

† Nothing like simple element dilutes

The food, or gives the chyle so soon to flow :

But where the stomach, indolent and cold,

Toys with its duty, animate with wine

Th' insipid stream, tho' golden Ceres yields

A more voluptuous, a more sprightly draught,

Perhaps more active. Wine unmix'd, and all

The gluy floods that from the vex'd abyss

Of fermentation spring; with spirit fraught,

And furious with intoxicating fire,

Retard concoction, and preserve unthaw'd

Th' embodied mass. You see what countless years,

Embalmed in fiery quintessence of wine,

The puny wonders of the reptile world,

The tender rudiments of life, the slim

Unrav'lings of minute anatomy ;

Maintain their texture, and unchang'd remain.

ARMSTRONG ON HEALTH, b. ii.

have already fully confessed that the minds of drunken men are disturbed and affected almost to madness, which is apparent from such men thinking they see two moons and two suns, whilst others, who have not drank like them, and who are in comparison of them sober, never entertain such notions, and yet are full of joy and pleasure, without being able to shew one existing cause for being so. Men in this state of mitigated intoxication plead causes, though never known before to have spoken at the bar, and say they are rich, without having a drachma in their possession. These, O King! are the affections of insane people; but joy itself produces similar effects. I have seen many whom the bare prospect of good fortune would not suffer to rest on account of the frequent startings to which they were subject in their sleep; and this comes in confirmation of the proverb which says, that *the "good things of this life are not without their concomitant anxieties."* There are also certain medical preparations which men have discovered for producing sleep, of which, if they drink, or with which if they anoint themselves, they sleep stretched out as if they were dead. But it is well known, that when they awake after such a state of oblivion, they suppose themselves to be in any other place than where they really are. That these potions which are drank, or rather infused on both soul and body, do not produce true and natural sleep, but either what is profound and like that of people half dead, or else what is light and interrupted by every floating vision, no matter how agreeable, you will, I think, allow, unless you love contention rather than fair argumentation. However, they who drink water, as I do, see things as they really are, and never imagine what is not; they are not giddy, nor sleepy, nor stupid, and are not more cheerful than what is decent and becoming, but are always composed and rational, and that at all times equally so, as well in the evening as in the morning, at the hour of full forum. Such persons are never overcome with sleep, though they

sit up most part of the night at their studies: for sleep, like an imperious master, only falls heavy on the neck that is already bowed down with wine, but they who drink water are always free and erect; and when they go to bed, sleep sound, neither elated by prosperity nor depressed by adversity. The man who is sober, bears both situations with equal moderation, unaffected by either the one or the other. Hence, it comes to pass that his sleep is sound, and most pleasant, without any interruption . . .

CHAP. XXXVII.

MOREOVER, divination, by dreams, which amongst mortals passes for a discovery of divine origin, is more easily comprehended by a mind not overcome by wine, because in such a state it receives the impression unaltered, and is more capable of weighing it with attention. Hence the interpreters of dreams called oneiropolists by the poets, give no opinion of any vision till the exact time of its appearance is ascertained to them. If the vision be in the morning, at the time the mind is supposed to be disengaged from the effects of wine, and is capable of forming a right judgment of futurity, the oneiropolists will then interpret. But if it be during the first sleep, or at midnight, when the soul is oppressed with wine, they will not interpret, and herein they are wise. I will now shew in a few words that such are the sentiments of the Gods, and that the faculty of foretelling future events is communicated only to the temperate and sober. Amongst the Greeks, O King! we had formerly a prophet of the name of Amphiaraus. I know it, said the King, you speak of the son of Oicleus who was swallowed up alive by the opening of the earth as he was returning from Thebes. The very same, replied Apollonius, he still continues to

prophecy in Attica,* and gives dreams to all who consult him: but the priest takes care that all who do, should abstain from eating for one day, and from drinking wine for three, that they may the better be able to receive the responses with perspicuity. Had wine been held a prescription proper for producing sleep, the wise Amphiaraus would have adopted a different regimen with those who came to consult his oracle, and would, I think, have rather advised them to approach his shrine like casks-filled with wine. I might enumerate many other oracles both among Greeks and barbarians, wherein the priest gives his answers from a tripod after drinking water, and not wine: and therefore, O King! you may consider me and all water-drinkers, as fit vehicles for the reception of the God, inasmuch as we are under the immediate influence of the water-nymphs, and are perfect Bacchantes in sobriety. Will you then, Apollonius, said the King, make me a member of your society? I should do it with pleasure said he, if I was not apprehensive it might be the means, of making you less respected by your subjects. For a moderate and liberal philosophy in a prince is attended by the very best consequences, as is apparent from your example: but if it is narrow, and too rigid in its exactions, it may seem somewhat irksome, and ill-adapted to a royal situation, and may be construed by the envious into a false pride and ostentation. Whilst discoursing in this manner, day advanced, and they departed from the chamber.

CHAP XXXVIII.

WHEN Apollonius found that the King was going to give audience to ambassadors, and answers to some peti-

* At Oropus—a town of Beotia on the borders of Attica, where Amphiaraus had a temple.

tions, he said to him, perform, O King! such duties as are becoming your station, and leave me to offer up my accustomed prayers to the sun. May he hear them, said the King, and be propitious to you, for I think he will take pleasure in obliging all who love wisdom. Meanwhile I will wait your return, having some causes to decide in which your presence will be of great use.

CHAP. XXXIX.

SOON after, when day was somewhat advanced, Apollonius returned and said, what causes have you tried, O King? I have not tried any, said he, as the Auspices* were not favourable. What, said Apollonius, have you recourse to the auspices, when you administer justice as you do, when you undertake a journey or a military expedition? Certainly, said the King, for in such cases the danger is, lest he who judges, should judge not according to justice. To this Apollonius bowed assent, and asked what was the particular cause he had to try, for it seemed to him as if he was at a loss how to make a decision. I own I am, said the King, and therefore wish to make you my assistant counsel. I will tell you the case. One man sold another a piece of ground in which was concealed a treasure, of which all parties were ignorant. Some time after the ground opening discovered a pot of gold, which he who sold the field, said, was his property: as he affirmed he never would have sold it had he been apprised that it contained what was so necessary in life. The buyer on the other hand said, he bought all the field contained. In my opinion, said the King, the plea of both is reasonable;

* A similar mode of speaking occurs in Tacitus in the second book of his Annals.—“Pleased with this prognostic, which the auspices confirmed, Germanicus called an assembly of the soldiers,” &c.

and yet, were I to advise them to divide the money, I should not be considered as a very subtle lawyer, inasmuch as such a decision might be made by any old woman. Hereupon Apollonius interposing, said, I perceive plainly that these two men are no philosophers, by the manner they wrangle about the gold. But you, O King! will judge the matter most equitably by taking into consideration, first, that the Gods have especial care of those men who excel in philosophy; and next, that their care extends to all who are free from vice, and least disposed to evil. To philosophers they give the power of discerning between divine and human things; and to other men of good characters, such a competency of the necessaries of life as may keep them from doing any thing unjust to acquire them. I think then, O King! that the behaviour of both should be weighed as in a balance, and the life and action of each well examined; for my opinion is, the Gods would never have taken the land from the one, had he not been a bad man, nor given it to the other had he not been a good one. The next day both came to plead their cause, and it appeared that the seller was a man who despised the sacrifices due to the terrestrial Gods, and the other, one who did not, but was a devout worshipper of them. The opinion given by Apollonius determined the case, and the good man departed under conviction that he was favoured by Heaven.*

CHAP. XL.

AFTER this cause was determined, Apollonius approached the King, and said, I have been now three days your

* A friend of mine is of opinion that the story in this chapter gave something like the rude outline of Parnel's Hermit. It is well known, the story is found in Arabian authors, but it is no less notorious that they borrowed much from the Greeks.

guest, and on the morrow I mean to take my departure in compliance with your law. To this the King replied, The law does not yet speak to you such a language ; you have my free permission to stay to-morrow, and my reason for it is, that your coming was not till after mid-day. I am delighted, said Apollonius, with the way in which I have been entertained, and particularly with the ingenious manner in which you have eluded the law for my sake. If on any account, said the King, a law can be dispensed with, it should be so on your's. But tell me, Apollonius, did the camels on which you rode here, carry you from Babylon? They did, said Apollonius, and we were supplied with them by Bardanes. And do you think, said the King, they will be able to convey you to your journey's end, after having come so many stadia from Babylon? When Apollonius heard this he was silent. Here Damis interposing, said, I fear, O King ! that Apollonius is not acquainted with the nature of the journey, nor with the nations amongst whom he is to travel. He has hopes of always meeting with such men as you and Bardanes, and this is what makes him consider the going to the Indians as a matter of mere amusement ; and is the true reason of his not owning to you the sad condition of his camels, which is such, that instead of their carrying us, we shall, I fear, be obliged to carry them ; and therefore I just hint the necessity of our getting others. Besides, I must say, that if they should fail us in the desarts of India, we should be obliged to remain there to defend them from the vultures and wolves ; and as we should have none to protect ourselves, must consequently perish. This, I think, can be easily remedied, said the King, by giving you others, and my opinion is, you ought not to have less than four. I will give orders to the satrap, who is set over the country along the Indus, to send back those you have to Babylon. I have a troop of camels, said the King, that are all milk-white. Will you not give us a guide, O King ! said Da-

mis? I will, said the King, and a camel for him to ride on; and all things necessary for the journey: and added to all, I will write a letter to Iarchas, the eldest of the wise men, and request him to receive Apollonius as a man not inferior to himself; and you as philosophers and his disciples. After this, he ordered them gold and precious stones, and linen garments, &c. of which Apollonius refused the gold, saying, they had enough of it, as his guide, unknown to him, had been supplied by Bardanes. He said, however, he would accept of the linen garments as they had been worn by the oldest inhabitants of Attica.* Then taking up one of the precious stones in his hand, he said, "O rare stone: how fortunate have I been in finding you, not without the favour of the Gods, seeing as I suppose some secret virtue in it. But Damis and his companions, though they declined taking the gold, yet took plentifully of the precious stones, saying, they would dedicate them to the Gods whenever they returned to their own country.

CHAP. XLI.

ALL that day and the following one they staid with the King, and just as they were going away, he gave them a letter to Iarchas to this effect:

"King Phraotes to Iarchas his master, and to the wise men with him, health."

"Apollonius, a man famed for wisdom, thinks you have

* And it is not a long time since those amongst the rich Athenians who were advanced in years and studied their ease, left off wearing their linen garments, and fastening the hair of their head behind with grasshoppers of gold, &c.

THUCYDIDES. *Smith.*

more knowledge than himself, and goes to be instructed in it. Send him away learned in all you know, and believe that nothing you teach him will be lost. His power of speaking is above that of mortals, and his memory good. Let him see the throne on which I sat, when your father Iarchas gave me my kingdom. Moreover, his followers are deserving of praise on account of their respect for the man.—

“Farewel and be happy.”

CHAP. XLII.

THEN departing from Taxila, and going two days journey, they came to a plain,* where the battle was fought between Alexander and Porus. Here our travellers tell us they saw two gates, which were built, not for the purposes of inclosure, but for the exhibition of trophies, there being erected on them a representation of Alexander in a chariot drawn by four horses, such as he appeared at Issus, after the defeat of the satraps of Darius. They further add, that there were two other gates not far distant from each other, on which stood a statue of Porus, and on the other, one of Alexander, erected, as is supposed, in consequence of their reconciliation after the battle, the one is in the attitude of triumphant salutation, and the other in that of humble submission.

CHAP. XLIII.

AFTERWARDS having passed the Hydraotes, and traversed many nations, they came to the Hyphasis.†

* On the spot where Alexander defeated Porus, he built a city in memory of the victory, called Nicæa—which was situated, according to Ptolemy, on the eastern shore of the Hydaspes.

† Dr. Robertson, in his historical disquisition concerning ancient India,

About thirty stadia before they came to this river, they found some altars, on which were the following inscriptions:—

To Father Ammon—and to Brother Hercules—To the provident Minerva, and Olympian Jupiter.

To the Samothracian Cabiri*—To Indian Sol and brother Apollo. They say also, there was a brazen pillar erected, on which was this inscription written: “Here Alexander stopped.” The altars were supposed to have

India, says, Alexander never approached nearer than the southern bank of the Hyphasis, where he erected twelve stupendous altars, which he intended as a monument of his exploits, and which (if we may believe the biographer of Apollonius) were still remaining with legible inscriptions, when that fantastic sophist, adds the Doctor, visited India, 373 years after Alexander’s expedition. Diodorus Siculus is the author who mentions Alexander’s erecting twelve altars to the twelve Gods, every one 50 cubits high.

* One day, says Dr. Warton, Mr. Wise read to us (meaning Dr. Johnson and himself) a dissertation he was preparing for the press, entitled *a History and Chronology of the fabulous ages*. Some old deities of Thrace, related to the Titans, called the *Cabiri*, made a very important part of the theory of the piece,—and in conversation afterwards, Mr. Wise talked much of the *Cabiri*.—In returning home, adds Dr. Warton, I walked too fast for Johnson, when he cried out, why, you walk as if you were pursued by all the *Cabiri* in a body.—*Boswell’s life of Johnson*.—But this conversation throws little light on the *Cabiri*, and Wise’s book I have never seen. No part of heathen mythology is involved in a greater degree of obscurity than the mysteries of the *Cabiri*.—Their rites were carefully concealed from the vulgar. They were seven in number, and supposed to be the family of Noah, according to Faber; but according to Vallancey, they were three deities—the first, *Deimal* the God of winds and storms—hence, perhaps the *Phædimi*; the second, *Dioscar* the God of voyages—hence, perhaps the *Discoridæ*—and the third, *Taulon*, or the Sun.—Their worship, Vallancey supposes, originated at Dioscurias a town on the Pontus—*Di*, he says, signifies a God, and *Oscar* a traveller.

Faber says the *Cabiri* were styled *Dioscuri*, *Corybantes*, and *Samothraces*.

been built by Alexander, as monuments intended to commemorate and honour the boundaries of his empire. But the pillar is supposed to have been erected by the Indians, on the other side of the Hyphasis, for the purpose of expressing their joy that Alexander was not able to march farther.

To the Sacerdotalian Cabiri.—To Indian Soli. They say also, there was a Persian pillar erected, on which was this inscription written: "Here Alexander stopped." The altar was supposed to have

fallen, says Alexander, never approached nearer than the southern bank of the Hyphasis, where he erected twelve stupendous altars, which he intended as a monument of his exploits, and which (if we may believe the biographer of Apollonius) were still remaining with legible inscriptions, when that fantastic voyager, adds the Doctor, visited in his 323 years after Alexander's expedition. Dionysius Siculus is the author who mentions Alexander's erecting twelve altars to the twelve Gods, every one 30 cubits high.

One day, says Dr. Walton, Mr. Wise read to me (meaning Dr. John. son and himself) a dissertation he was preparing for the press, entitled a History and Chronology of the Antiquities of the East. Some old notions of Thales, related to the Titans, called the Cabiri, made a very important part of the theory of the piece, and in conversation afterwards, Mr. Wise talked much of the Cabiri. In returning home, adds Dr. Walton, I walked too fast for Johnson, when he cried out, why, you walk as if you were pursued by all the Cabiri in a body.—Boswell's life of Johnson.—But this conversation throws little light on the Cabiri, and what book I have never seen. No part of heathen mythology is involved in a greater degree of obscurity than the mysteries of the Cabiri.—Their rites were carefully concealed from the vulgar. They were never in number, and supposed to be the family of Noah, according to Faber; but according to Vallancey, they were three, deities—the first, Deity of the God of winds and storms—hence, perhaps, the Phœnix; the second, Deity of the God of voyagers—hence, perhaps, the Dioscuri; and the third, Tanos, or the Sun.—Their worship, Vallancey supposes, originated at Dioscurias a town on the Pontus—Ed. he says, signifies a God, and Oane, a traveller.

Faber says the Cabiri were styled Dioscuri, Capetani, and Sacer-

BOOK III.—CONTENTS.

An account of the river Hyphasis—Passes it—Arrival of Apollonius at the hill of the Sages—Various subjects of Conversation discussed whilst there—Stays with them four months—Instructed in all their learning—Sails down the Hyphasis, &c.—Arrives at the ocean—Voyage from Patala in the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf—Pearl fishery described—Sails to Babylon—Goes to Antioch—to Seleucia, and from thence sails to Cyprus.

CHAP. I.

IT is now time to notice the Hyphasis* as it runs through an extensive tract of country, and the things related of it are wonderful. This river rises in a plain, and becomes navigable, not far from its source, but soon ceases being so, on account of sharp and rugged rocks appearing and disappearing in it alternately, which break and agitate the current so as to render sailing on it impracticable.† This river is as large as the Danube, allowed to be one of the most considerable streams of Europe. The same species of trees grow on the banks of each, from which distils a liquor used by the Indians in making a nuptial oil, with which, if a new married couple are not anointed all over by the persons appointed for the purpose, the union is thought incomplete, and made *invitâ venerê*. There is a grove near the Hyphasis dedicated to Venus, and a fish

* Hyphasis, one of the rivers intersecting the province now known by the name of the *Panjab*, or the five rivers.

† Alexander then moved forward to the river Hyphasis, which is seven furlongs over, and six fathoms deep, of a very fierce stream, and difficult to pass.

called the peacock only to be found in it. This fish has the same name of the bird, from its fins being blue, its scales spotted, and its tail of a yellow colour like gold, which it can raise and spread at pleasure. Besides, there is an insect* belonging to the same river, which looks like a white worm, and when melted, produces an oil, from whence issues a flame of such a nature, as only to be contained in a glass vial. This insect is the King's sole property, and is used by him in destroying the walls of besieged towns; for the moment it touches the battlements, it is said to kindle such a flame as cannot be put out by any of the common means used for extinguishing fire.

C H A P. II.

WILD asses,† it is said, are taken in the marshy grounds. These animals have a horn growing out of their forehead, with which they fight with no less fury than bulls. The Indians make a cup from this horn which possesses these peculiar virtues, that the man who drinks out of it is not sick for that day; nor sensible of pain if wounded; nor

* All that Philostratus says here of the qualities of this extraordinary insect agrees with the account given of it by Ælian and Ctesias, as quoted by Aldrovandus in his history of insects, differing only as to the river which produces it, they attributing to the Ganges what Philostratus attributes to the Hyphasis. *Credat qui vult.*

Tyson calls it from Ctesias *the horrible Indian worm.*

† The account of these wild asses corresponds with what may be found in Ælian and Ctesias—two authors little to be relied on, as is evident from the perusal of the history of the one, and such fragments as remain of the other. Buffon gives no description of a wild ass, or *onager*, like what is in the text.—I believe our author must mean the Rhinoceros, which Buffon says, loves moist and marshy grounds, has one horn (though some have two) with which he attacks, and sometimes, it is said, mortally wounds the largest elephant. His horn is reckoned a powerful antidote against all kinds of poison. On this supposed virtue is founded the story in the text.

affected by fire, were he to pass through it, nor injured by the most noxious poisons. This cup belongs solely to the King, and hunting the animal is his sole diversion. Apollonius says he saw one of these wild asses, and was greatly pleased with it on account of its disposition. When Damis asked him, whether he believed the story of the cup? he said, not, till I hear the King of the country is immortal. For my opinion is, that he who is able to supply himself and any one he pleases with draughts so salubrious, and fit for removing disease, would act but inconsistently, if he did not use it every day, and that even to excess: and who I say would blame him if he drank it even to intoxication?

CHAP. III.

HERE Damis says,* they met with a woman of diminutive stature, who was black from her head to her bosom, and white to her feet, whom they fled from, as if she had been a monster, but he adds, that Apollonius gave her his hand, knowing what she was. Such a woman is sacred to the Indian Venus, and is born party-coloured for the goddess, as Apis† is amongst the Egyptians.

CHAP. IV.

AFTERWARDS they passed that part of Caucasus which is covered with various kinds of aromatic plants,

* It is in this and other stories of a similiar complexion, that Bishop Parker says, our author outdoes Sir John Mandeville.

† A God of the Egyptians, worshipped under the form of an ox. The ox was always chosen by some particular and distinguishing marks.

and stretches towards the Red Sea. Here the cinnamon grows on the tops of the mountains, and looks like new vine shoots. The place where it grows is shewn by a goat, an inhabitant of the mountain. This appears when any one offers it a little cinnamon, for it will whine and lick his hand like a dog, and run after him as he goes away, attracted evidently by the smell. And if the goat-herd drives it away, it will make a plaintive moan, as if deprived of some favourite lotos. Among the deep hollows of the mountain they found frankincense-bearing trees of considerable height, and several others of the aromatic kind; besides the pepper-bearing tree, which is under the husbandry of the ape.* The appearance of this tree has not been omitted, which I shall give as delivered to me. The pepper-bearing tree is like what the Greeks call *agnos* in almost every thing as well as in the berries containing the fruit. It grows on steep and rugged precipices, where man cannot approach, and is only accessible to the apes, a people who dwell in the caves and hollows of the mountains.† These apes gather the pepper for the Indians, and are highly valued on that account. For this reason they employ dogs and offensive weapons to defend them from the lions. The lion, it is known, when sick, lies in ambush for the ape, whose flesh he finds

* The *πίθηκος* of the Greeks, and the *simia* of the Latins, is a true ape, and was the subject upon which Aristotle, Pliny, and Galen, instituted all the physical relations they discovered between that animal and man.—This ape is the *pigmy* of the ancients, whose height never rises above one fourth of that of a man. Demosthenes calls *Æschines* “*αυτοτραγικός πίθηκος, αρουραίος Οινόμαος, παρασημέας Ρήτωρ*.”

† The servile offices performed by these creatures, might formerly, as it does to this day, impose upon mankind to believe, that they were of the same species with themselves—Philostratus calls them here the *people* of the apes, and the *husbandmen* of the pepper trees. It has been suggested, that the reason of their not speaking is, for fear of being made slaves.

a restorative in illness, of which he is even fond in his old age. And when he is old and unable to hunt the stag, or the boar, he uses the strength which is left to get the ape within his claws, whom he devours most greedily. But the Indians, from a grateful sense of what they owe these apes, never desert them, and often fight the lion for their sake. The manner in which the pepper is gathered is this, the Indians go to such trees as are within their reach, and from them they pull off the pepper, which they toss about as if a thing despised and of no value ; and then throw it into certain pits prepared beforehand. The apes* seeing all this from their lofty and inaccessible stations, imitate it as soon as night comes on, and pluck off the little boughs which they throw into these pits. As soon as it is day light the Indians come, and carry away heaps of spice got without any trouble, and whilst they were asleep.

CHAP. V.

OUR travellers say, when they arrived at the top of the mountain, they saw a plain stretching before them divided by many water-cuts, of which some were in oblique, and others in right lines, all derived from the Ganges. These water-cuts† served partly for land-marks, and partly for irrigation in case of a dry season. Of all India this plain was the most extensive, and its soil the most fruitful of the whole country ; it extends fifteen days' journey in length towards the Ganges, and eighteen in breadth from the sea to the mountain of the apes. The earth of it is black, and abounds in all kinds of productions. Here

* Apes imitate the mechanical actions of man so completely, that they seem to be excited by the same sensations.

† In Egypt numberless canals are cut in order to convey the waters of the Nile to all parts of the country.

they saw ears of corn growing on stalks which stood upright like reeds. Beans three times larger than those of Egypt: sessamum and millet of an enormous size, and a kind of nuts, of which some are preserved in our temples as matters of curiosity and shew. Besides the above, they saw a species of small vines resembling those growing in Meonia and Lydia,* which yielded a wine that was excellent both for its taste and smell. Here they met with a tree like a laurel which had a husk of the size of a pomegranate, wherein was an apple of an hyacinthine colour, considered the sweetest of all growing in these climates.

CHAP. VI.

WHEN they were coming down from the mountain they say they assisted at a dragon-hunt,† of which it is necessary to make mention. For my part I think it would be absurd to enter into a dissertation with the curious on the subject of how a hare is, and may be taken, and at the same time pass over the account of a chase at once manly and divine, and one in which the hero of our history participated. All India is girt‡ in with dragons of a prodigious bulk as it were with zones. Not only the marshes

* Meonia and Lydia are not distinct countries, but the same. Part of Lydia was known by the name of Meonia,—the neighbourhood of mount Tmolus, and the country watered by the Pactolus.

† In the following account given by Philostratus of the different species of dragons, fiction and truth are so blended that it is difficult to separate the one from the other.

‡ The word κατέλωσαι—in the text, is used with elegance here by Philostratus, says Olearius, to shew that these dragons by the immense folds of their huge bodies seemed to represent zones.

Mr. Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, mentions temples in the form of serpents, whose enormous folds extended over a wide tract of land, and thence called *Dracontia*.

and the fens, but the mountains and hills abounded with them. The dragons living in the marshes are sluggish in their natures, and thirty cubits long;* they have no crests on their heads, and look like she-dragons. Their backs are black, without having as many scales as the others, and of them Homer has spoken more learnedly† than the other poets, for the one he mentions near the fountain at Aulis was red-backed. Some poets say, that the dragon of the Nemean grove was like it, and was moreover crested. Dragons of this description are not easily to be found in marshes.

CHAP. VII.

THE dragons‡ living at the foot of mountains and hills, rush down to the plains in search of prey, and surpass in every thing those living in the marshes. They are larger, swifter§ than the most rapid rivers, and nothing is able to escape their pursuit. They have a crest which is small when they are young, but increases with their growth till it becomes of considerable size. Of this species of dra-

* Owen, in his history of serpents says, those of India exceed most in largeness and longitude. In the tower of London is the skin of one which is of vast bulk.

† ————And from the crumbling ground
A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent;
From Jove himself the dreadful sign was sent.
Strait to the tree his sanguine spires he roll'd,
And curl'd around in many a winding fold.

HOMER, POPE, b. ii.

‡ The dragon described in this chapter seems to be that called by Owen, *Acontia*.

§ Hence probably the fable of their having wings, which are constantly given them by the poets. It is called by the Latins *serpens jacularis*.—By the modern Greeks *sacta*, a dart—for it flies like an arrow at its prey.

gons,* some are of a fiery-red, with backs like a saw, and have beards—these dragons raise their necks higher than the others, and their scales shine like silver. The pupils of their eyes are like stones of fire,† and possess a virtue which is all powerful in the discovery of secrets. Whenever the dragons‡ of the plain attack the elephant, they always become the prey of the hunter, for the destruction of both generally terminates the contest. He who is lucky enough to get possession of the dragon is rewarded with the eyes, skin, and teeth. The dragons of this class are not unlike immense fish, with the exception alone of their bodies being thinner, and more flexible—they have teeth as strong as whales.

CHAP. VIII.

THE mountain dragons§ have scales of a golden colour, and are larger than the dragons of the plain. They have beards yellow, and bushy, and eye-brows more elevated

* And you, ye dragons; of the scaly race,
Whom glittering gold, and shining armour grace, &c.

LUCAN, b. ix.

† Some have observed, that about the Ganges, are dragons whose eyes sparkle like precious stones.

Owen's History of Serpents.

‡ Not elephants are by their larger size
Secure, but with the rest become your prize.
Resistless in your might, you all invade
And for destruction need not poison's aid.

LUCAN, b. ix.

Diodorus Siculus says, “frequent and terrible scuffles happen between elephants and serpents in the great Indian deserts, when they meet at a spring, in which, both sometimes perish.”

§ I believe the dragon described here is the basilisk, or cockatrice, which Owen says, is gross in body, of fiery eyes, and sharp head, on which it wears a crest like a cock's comb. The very sight of this serpent, and sound of his voice, puts all others to flight, and makes them relinquish their prey.

than the others, underneath which are eyes of a stern and terrible aspect. In their tortuous windings under the earth they make a *noise like that of brass* :* their crests are red, from which flashes a flame brighter than that of a torch. These dragons conquer the elephant, and in their turn are conquered by the Indians in the manner following ; † they spread a scarlet coat before their holes, embroidered with golden letters, which being charmed, bring on a sleep, that at last subdues those eyes, which would be otherwise invincible. Other spells, consisting of many words, extracted from their occult philosophy, are used, by which the dragon is so fascinated, that he puts his head out of his hole and falls asleep over the letters. Whilst he remains in this situation the Indians rush upon him with pole-axes, and after cutting off his head, strip it of all its precious stones. The stones found in the heads of these mountain dragons, ‡ are said to have a transparent lustre, which emit a variety of colours, and possess that kind of virtue attributed to the ring of Gyges. § But it often happens that these dragons seize the Indian in spite of his pole-axe and cunning, and carry him off to his den, by which he makes the whole mountain tremble. We were told of their inhabiting the mountains near the Red Sea, from which are heard horrible hissings, and that they sometimes are known to go down to the sea || and swim to

* υποχαλκον ηχον—

† Owen takes notice of this mode of the Indians charming serpents.

‡ Called *Draconites*, precious stones taken out of the brains of a dragon whilst alive : for if not extracted whilst alive, they never acquire the hardness and form of precious stones, because his envy and malice is such, that the moment he perceives himself dying, he takes care to destroy their virtue. PLINY, b. xxxvii.

§ The virtue of whose ring, it is well known, rendered the wearer invisible.

|| In Ethiopia, as well as in India, are dragons twenty cubits long. It is said, four or five of them woven together after the manner of hurdles

a great distance from the shore. Of the length of their lives we were not able to come at any certainty, and if we were, I fear no credit would be given to it. This is all I have been able to learn on the subject of dragons.

CHAP. IX.

THE city to which they next came, was situate at the foot of a mountain, and was one of the largest in the country called Paraca,* in the center of which were seen suspended the heads of many dragons, as a proof of the Indians exercising themselves from their youth in the hunting of them. It is said the people of Paraca understand the cries and thoughts of animals, some by eating the heart, and others the *liver of dragons*. Whilst Apollonius and his companions were continuing their journey, they heard the sound of a pipe, which happened to be that of a shepherd tending his flock. In this country the Indians feed white hinds, whose milk they are fond of, from an opinion of its being of a nutritious quality.

CHAP. X.

FOR four days they travelled through a rich and well-cultivated country, and at last arrived at the castle of the wise men. The guide as he approached the hill,† shewed

hurdles, pass the sea for better pasturage, cutting the waves, and bearing up their heads aloft, which serve them in the place of sails.

PLINY, b. viii.

* Paraca—which I have not been able to find in any geographical book.

† The hill where these wise men, or Brachmens, resided, corresponds, says Mr. Wilford, with a place called Trilocinarayana, near the banks of the river Cedara-ganga.

such signs of fear that the sweat ran down his face, which caused him to stop his camel, from which he alighted. Apollonius, who knew well where he was, laughed at his fears, and said, should this man get safe into harbour after being long at sea, I believe he would not be satisfied, nor relish the land. When he said this, he commanded his camel to kneel down, a custom to which he was well used. What chiefly caused the guide's alarm, was his near approach to the seat of those sages, who are more respected by the Indians than the King himself, who, though lord of the soil, advises with them in every thing as if they were so many oracles. They also inform him of what is, or is not best to be done, and use the justest arguments on the occasion.

CHAP. XI.

APOLLONIUS and his companions who had thoughts of remaining some time in a neighbouring village, not above a mile from the hill, changed their intention when they saw a young man coming to them with all the haste he could. He was one of the blackest of the Indians, and had between his eye-brow the figure of a shining moon. Such an appearance was afterwards seen in an Ethiopian named Memnon, when a boy, who was the pupil of Herodes the sophist. He had this moon whilst young, but as he arrived to man's estate, its brightness diminished, and at last entirely vanished. The youth who waited on Apollonius carried in his hand a golden anchor,*

* In all negotiations in India, the public faith, when once plighted in any treaty, was inviolably preserved. The figure of an anchor, the sacred symbol of truth and stability, was engraved upon the grand imperial signet used upon those solemn occasions. MAURICE.

which by the Indians is considered as a caduceus, on account of the power it possessed of fixing all things.

CHAP. XII.

WHEN the youth approached Apollonius he addressed him in the Greek tongue, which created no surprise, on account of all the people of the village speaking the same language. But when he called our philosopher by his name, and gave him the usual address of salutation, all were astonished except Apollonius, who assumed great hopes from auguring so well of the mission. This made him turn to Damis, and say, we are now come to men who are wise indeed, and who seem to excel in the knowledge of futurity. Then he asked the Indian what he ought to do, for he was burning with the desire of conversing with the sages. The Indian answered, you must leave your companions here, and follow me without delay, for it is *ΑΥΤΟΙ*.—They who order—by using which word, Apollonius acknowledged the full force of the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras,* and followed with joy.

CHAP. XIII.

THE hill inhabited by these wise men was as high as the Acropolis of Athens, and rose like it from a level plain. It was defended on all sides by an immense pile of rocks, on which were to be seen in many places the traces of

* When the disciples of Pythagoras asserted any thing in dispute, if they were questioned, why it was so, they used to answer *ipse dixit*, He said it, which *He* was *Pythagoras*. This *αυτος εφα*, was, amongst them, the first and greatest of doctrines, his judgment being a reason free from, and above all examination and censure. STANLEY.

cloven feet, of beards, and faces; and in some parts the very marks which might be supposed to have been made by creatures falling on their backs. For when Bacchus attacked the place along with Hercules, he ordered his Pans to make the assault, whom he thought fully sufficient to take it. But thunderstruck by the superior skill of the sages, they tumbled one upon another, and left imprinted on the rocks the marks of whatever parts were most defective in their bodies. A cloud was observed to cover the hill where these sages live, by means of which they can at pleasure render themselves either visible or not. They saw no gates, and this must have been owing to the clouds surrounding the mount, and preventing their seeing whether it was open or shut.

CHAP. XIV.

APOLLONIUS says he ascended the hill on that side which looked towards the south, under the guidance of his trusty Indian. The first thing he saw there, was a well about four paces wide, out of which a blue vapour rose to the top of it. This vapour, when the sun comes to the meridian, is rarified by its rays, and whenever it rises to a certain height, gives the beholders the appearance of a rainbow. He was informed also that the earth at the bottom of this well was of the nature of Sandarach,* that the water was reputed hallowed, that no one was permitted to drink it, or draw it, and that it was believed

* Sandarach, in natural history, a very beautiful native fossil, though often confounded with red-arsenic. It is a pure substance, of an orange scarlet, and is quite transparent. When exposed to a moderate heat, it melts and flows like oil. Whether this well is not one of the Petroleum wells may admit of a question, which I am not able to solve.

to be so sacred, that all the people in the neighbourhood swore by it. Near this well was a small crater of fire, from whence ascended a flame of the colour of lead, without either smoke or smell, and what was most remarkable, it always remained full, without ever overflowing. It is in this the Indians cleanse themselves from all involuntary crimes, in consequence of which the wise men call the well—*the well of discovery*; and the fire, *the fire of pardon*. Here were seen two vessels made of black stone,* the one named *the vessel of the winds*, and the other, *that of the rains*. Whenever India labours under a long drought, they open the vessel of the rains, which sends forth clouds that refresh the whole land; and on the other hand, when rain falls in too great abundance, the vessel is shut, and the rain ceases. The vessel of the winds is, I think, somewhat of the nature of the bags of Eolus, because, when it is opened, such a wind rushes out,† as serves to cool and fertilize the country. Our travellers say, they were not surprised to find images of the Gods of Indian or Egyptian workmanship,‡ but when they saw some of

* Fast by the threshold of Jove's courts are placed
Two casks, one stored with evil, one with good,
From which the God dispenses as he wills.

HOMER, b. xxix. Iliad.

Olearius is of opinion that the Indians might have had, perhaps, two vessels made for the purpose of marking the several changes in the seasons, something like our thermometers and barometers, and that simple people confounding the cause with the effect, might have supposed these vessels the causes of the wind or rain.

† They loos'd the bag; forth issued all the winds, &c.

HOMER, Od. b. x.

‡ Sir William Jones has drawn a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, Greece, Italy, and India; but has not presumed to decide which was the original system, and which the copy. Since *Egypt* appears to have been the grand source of knowledge for the *western*, and *India* for the more *eastern* parts of the globe, it may be asked whether the Egyptians communicated their mytholo-

the highest antiquity among the Greeks, statues for instance of Minerva Polias, Apollo Delius, Bacchus, and Amycleus, erected by the Indians,* together with a religious worship performed after the Grecian ritual, they were surprised indeed. The natives of this country have an idea of inhabiting the middle region of India, and therefore call the top of the aforesaid hill the navel of the world. On it they worship fire,† which they boast of drawing down from the rays of the sun, and sing hymns in honour of him every day at noon.

CHAP. XV.

ON the sole testimony of Apollonius rests the account we are to give of the wise men,‡ and the manner of their spending their time. In a conversation he had with the Egyptians, he says, “I have seen the Brachmans of India dwelling on the earth, and not on the earth”—“de-

gy, or philosophy to the Hindus, or conversely. This Sir William has stated without his being able to draw any satisfactory conclusion.

* Apollo—called *Amycleus*, had a rich and magnificent temple at Amyclæ in Italy, surrounded with delightful groves.—The inhabitants of Amyclæ were strict followers of the precepts of Pythagoras, and therefore abstained from all flesh.

† The worship of solar, or vestal fires, may be ascribed to an enthusiastic admiration of Nature’s wonderful powers, and it seem, as far as I can yet understand the Vedas, to be the principal worship recommended.

Sir W. JONES.

‡ Apollonius most certainly, says Mr. Wilford, in his essay on Egypt, &c. had no knowledge of the Indian language, nor is it on the whole, adds he, credible, that he ever was in India or Ethiopia, or even at Babylon: he never wrote an account of his travels, but the sophist Philostratus, who seems to have had a particular design in writing the history of his life, might have possessed valuable materials, by the occasional use of which he imposed more easily on the public.

fended without walls,"* "possessing nothing, and yet having every thing."† Expressions of a dark and enigmatical nature. But Damis says, they sleep on the ground, which is first spread with grass, wherein they delight; that he has seen them walking in the air at two cubits distance from the earth,‡ not for the purpose of exciting admiration, of which they are not guilty, but from an idea that what they do in such an approximation to the sun,§ is done in the way most acceptable to that luminary. The fire which they extract from the sun's rays, corporeal as it is, is not kept, it is said, on the altars or hearths, but like rays refracted in water by the sun,** is kept aloft floating in the air. By day they pray to the sun,†† who superintends the seasons, to be propitious to the land, and make India prosperous. By night they adore his rays, beseeching them not to be angry with them on account of the darkness, but may remain such as when extracted by them

* Ammianus Marcellinus says, the Brachmans inhabited villages, not fortified with walls.

† No man was more unfit than Damis for explaining a philosophical enigma, to whose simplicity, says Olearius, we are indebted for many of the fabulous relations that are to be found in this life of Apollonius.

‡ Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking of Maximin being raised to some high dignity, says, he leaped with joy, and danced rather than walked—anxious, as it is said, to imitate the Brachmans, who walked aloft in the air amidst their altars.

§ A gentleman told me he was present at a meeting of *jumpers*, in Glamorganshire, who said, that in proportion as they jumped high, they approached nearer to the *lamb*. Such is the nature of enthusiasm every where, and at all times.

** The difficulty is, how the rays were preserved during the night: Olearius in a note attributes the whole to some knowledge they might have had of *phosphorus*.

†† Sir William Jones supposes the whole system of religious fables rose like the Nile from several distinct sources, but that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe, was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire, which "looks from his sole dominion like the God of this new world."

from the sun. This is what Damis says Apollonius meant to convey, by saying "that the Brachmans are on the earth, and not on the earth." The next phrase of being defended without walls, is to apply to the sky under which they live. For though they appear to live in the open air, they can at pleasure cover themselves with a shade which protects them from the wet when it rains; and whenever they please they can enjoy the sun. The last phrase "of possessing nothing, and yet having every thing," is thus explained by Damis. "The fountains which flow from the earth for the votaries of Bacchus, whenever he shakes it, and them together, flow also for these Indians, when they drink themselves, or make others drink." Therefore Apollonius was not wrong when he said that these men who have what they wish without any previous preparation, might be considered as possessing what they have not. The sages let their hair grow after the manner of the antient Lacedemonians, Thurians, Tarentines, Melians, and all other people who adopted and prized the institutions of the Spartans. They wear on their heads white mitres, and have no cloathing except short tunics. The raw material out of which these garments are made, is a kind of flax,* the spontaneous growth of the soil,

* Hierocles says, that nothing is more worth seeing than the Brachmans, a people addicted to philosophy, and particularly devoted to the sun, who eat no manner of flesh, who live always abroad in the open air, who above all things honour and cultivate truth, and who wear only robes made of linen they get from the rocks; for, adds he, they take certain small threads that grow upon the rocks, spin them, and make of them their cloaths, which will not burn in the fire, and which they never wash; but when they are dirty, throw them in the midst of a burning flame, and they become white and transparent.

This flax is supposed to be the *asbestinum linteum*, mentioned by Pliny—which according to his account, grows in deserts and places parched and burnt up with the sun, and where rains never fall. The country is rocky that produces it, and the stone itself is called *asbestus*, from which the flax is made; and no other stone can be found capable of yielding such a flax or wool.

white as what grows in Pamphylia, but of a finer and softer texture. It contains also an unctuous matter* from which an oil is extracted. From this flax they make all their sacred garments, and if any other person but an Indian was to attempt to pull it, the earth would not yield it. The virtues of the ring† and wand borne by these Indian sages, are of great force, and are both of high repute for the discovering secrets.

CHAP. XVI.

AS soon as Apollonius drew near, the sages received him with open arms, and much greeting. He found Iarchas sitting on a high throne of black brass, that was adorned with various figures of wrought gold. The other seats were of brass, had no figures, were not so high, and were ranged in regular order below the throne. As soon as Iarchas saw Apollonius, he saluted him in the Greek tongue, and asked for the epistle which he brought from the King of India. Whilst Apollonius seemed amazed at this first instance of his superior knowledge; Iarchas said, in that epistle, Apollonius, there is a letter deficient (meaning a delta) and when perused, it was found to be exactly so. As soon as the epistle was read over, Iarchas said, what is your opinion of us, Apollonius? That, I think, I need not mention, said Apollonius, as it is evident, from the journey I have taken on your account, which was never attempted before by any of my countrymen. But, said Iarchas, do you think we possess more knowledge than yourself. I do, said Apollonius, I am

* Kircher, in his Mount Sina, says, that notwithstanding the external surface of the asbestos is dry and thready, yet it has within a viscid oily humour which cannot be conquered by fire.

† Of the virtues of the ring and wand hereafter.

confident your knowledge is of a higher, and more divine character than ours, and were I to make no addition to my own by conversing with you, I should have the pleasure at least of knowing, that you have nothing to teach me. Then, said Iarchas, other men are in the habit of asking strangers on their arrival "who they are," and "what they come for?" But the first proof we give of our knowledge is, that we know all this before hand. And saying this, he gave Apollonius the whole history of his family both by father and mother's side, with what passed at Ægæ, and his first interview with Damis, and the conversation they had together on the way, and what they learnt from others. This was all related by the Indian sage, in a clear distinct order, without any hesitation, as if he had travelled with them. Apollonius amazed at all he heard, asked how he had come by this knowledge.* To which he said, thou, Apollonius, art come to share in this wisdom, but art not yet in full possession of all. And will you, said Apollonius, make me acquainted with it? I will, replied he, with all my heart, for the communication of knowledge is much more becoming the character of philosophy, than the invidious concealment of what ought to be known. But I see, Apollonius, you have a good memory,† and *that* we honor most among

* Notwithstanding this, Damis says, he knew the very thoughts of men. Herein is a glaring inconsistency, for Apollonius is said to have known the thoughts of men, and yet on the present occasion he seems to be astonished that Iarchas the Indian priest was acquainted with his story.

† Memory, in the Greek mythology, was the mother of the muses, because it is to that mental endowment that mankind are indebted for their progress in all knowledge.

"T' impress these precepts on their hearts I sent

"Memory, the active mother of all wisdom."

Prometheus chained—

ÆSCHYLUS.

the Gods. Have you been able, said Apollonius, to form any opinion of my natural disposition? Yes, said he, we can discern the different dispositions of the mind by a variety of ways. But as mid-day is drawing nigh, and it being time to prepare for the offerings which are to be made to the Gods, I think we had better devote ourselves to their service, and afterwards discourse on whatever subjects you please; besides, Apollonius, you have full permission to assist at our religious worship. By Jupiter, returned Apollonius, I should wrong Caucasus and the Indus, which I have passed in my journey here, did I not wish to indulge to my heart's full content in your religious duties. Then do so, said Iarchas, and follow me.

CHAP. XVII.

THEY went to a spring of water, which Damis says (who afterwards saw it) was like the fountain Dirce in Beotia, and there undressed and anointed their heads with a preparation of amber,* which gave such a glowing heat to their skins, as made them smoke, and perspire as profusely as if they had been in a hot bath. After this they plunged into the water, wherein they bathed and purified themselves, and so proceeded to a temple crowned with garlands, and singing hymns with all due solemnity. As soon as they entered the temple, they formed themselves into the figure of the antient chorus, with Iarchas at their head as Coryphæus. Then with staves uplifted they struck the earth all together, which made it heave,† and swell like

* One proof that these Indian philosophers or Brachmans did not go naked—or were not literally Gymnosophists.

† Besides the effect produced in the text by the staves, which these wise men carried, another effect is attributed to their magical virtue, which was that of scaring evil spirits and ghosts.

the waves of the sea, by this they were elevated to the height of almost two cubits above it. Meanwhile they continued singing a hymn not unlike one of Sophocles's pæons that is sung at Athens in honor of Æsculapius. When alighted on the ground, Iarchas called the boy with the anchor, and said, take care of the companions of Apollonius. The boy obeyed his orders with the velocity of a bird, and returning, said, I have done what you required. The sages all took their seats, after having spent much time in religious exercises. Iarchas then ordered the boy to bring the throne of Phraotes for the wise Apollonius, on which to sit and dispute with them.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN Apollonius took his seat, Iarchas said to him, propose what question you please, for you now speak to men who know all things. Apollonius asked whether they knew themselves, which he did, from an idea that like the Greeks they would consider the *γνωθι σεαυτον* as a matter of difficult solution.* But contrary to his expectation, Iarchas replied, we know all things because we know ourselves, for there is not one of us who would have been admitted to the study of philosophy, had he not had that previous knowledge. Hereupon Apollonius calling to mind what he heard from Phraotes as the necessary qualification for all who cultivated science, that they should first examine themselves before they engaged in such pursuits; acquiesced in the answer, from a conviction of its

* — è cœlo descendit *γνωθι σεαυτον*.

JUVENAL.

This apophthegm of Chilo the Lacedemonian, was with others written in golden letters on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and was therefore believed to come from heaven.

truth. Apollonius next asked what they thought of themselves? Iarchas replied, Gods. And why Gods, said Apollonius, because we *are good men*, was the answer, which Apollonius considered so replete with wisdom, that he afterwards used it in his apology to Domitian.

CHAP. XIX.

APOLLONIUS now adopting his usual style of interrogatory, said, what is your opinion of the soul? The same, said Iarchas,* as was delivered by Pythagoras to you, and by us to the Egyptians. Am I to understand, said Apollonius, that as Pythagoras said he was Euphorbus, so you were some Trojan, or Greek, or other person, before you became possessed of your present body. To this the Indian said, Troy was destroyed by the Greeks who sailed to its shores, and you are destroyed by the stories told of it. For from an idea that the men who fought at Troy were the only men to be esteemed, you overlook many of a more divine character born in your country, in Egypt, and India. But since you have questioned me on the subject of my former body, tell me of all those who fought for, or against Troy, who was the most worthy of admiration? Achilles, the son of Peleus and Thetis, replied Apollonius, for he is celebrated by Homer as the most beautiful and valiant of all the Greeks, and his actions are described to be above all others. The Ajaxes and Nireuses are also celebrated for their beauty and courage, but only next after Achilles. With whom, said Iarchas, you may compare my progenitor, or rather

* Herein Iarchas supposes the Egyptians derived their opinions from the Indians through the Ethiopians, who were, as Iarchas says, a colony from India.

the body of my progenitor, for that was the light in which Pythagoras considered Euphorbus.

CHAP. XX.

THERE was a time, said Iarchas, when this country was inhabited by the Ethiopians, an Indian nation. Ethiopia did not then exist,* for Egypt stretched its boundaries beyond Meroe and the cataracts, taking in not only the sources, but the mouths of the Nile. Whilst the Ethiopians lived in this country now possessed by us, and were obedient to the rule of a sovereign, named Ganges, they had all the productions of the earth in plenty, and were secure under the protection of heaven. But when they murdered their King, they were no longer esteemed as pure by the rest of the Indians, and the land produced not what was sufficient for their subsistence. Their corn was destroyed before it came to the ear, miscarriages were frequent among the women, and the land was not able to support their flocks and cattle. Wherever they fixed on for building a city, the ground gave way, and sunk under their feet. The ghost of their King Ganges haunted them

* Eusebius speaks of the migration of the Ethiopians from India into Egypt. Sir William Jones believes that the Ethiops of Meroë, were the same people with the first Egyptians, and consequently, as it might be easily shown, with the original Hindus. It is very remarkable, he says, that Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Bryant, have proved that the Greeks gave the appellation of Indians both to the Southern nations of Africk, and to the people of Hindostan; and he adds, that it is no less observable, that according to Ephorus, quoted by Strabo, they called all the Southern nations in the world Ethiopians, thus using Indian and Ethiopian, as convertible terms. Both India and Ethiopia were used by the ancients as general terms to signify any remote uncivilized country, as

—Super et Garamantes et Indos

Proferet imperium.

VIRGIL.

The emigration of Cutila-cesas from India to Egypt is the one noticed by Philostrates in the text. WILFORD'S *Essay on Egypt*, &c.

wherever they went, and struck a terror into the lower orders, which never ceased till an atonement was made to the earth, of the perpetrators of the murder, and the shedders of the King's blood. This Ganges, whose beauty was above other men, was ten cubits high, and was the son of the river Ganges. The deluge which the father brought on India, was turned into the Red Sea by his son, in consequence of which the father became again friendly to the land. Whilst this King lived, the earth brought forth its fruits in abundance, but when he died, it took ample vengeance.* Homer says, Achilles sailed to Troy for the sake of Helen, and subdued twelve cities by sea, and eleven by land, but adds, that when his mistress was forced from him by Agamemnon, he became cruel and ungovernable. Let us compare in these circumstances the Grecian hero with this Indian Prince. He was the founder of sixty cities, the most famous in the country. To build will be allowed to be more glorious than to destroy. He next drove out the Scythians who marched an army over Caucasus, and infested the country. To give

* The basis of this tale, says Mr. Wilford, is unquestionably Indian, though it be clearly corrupted in some particulars. No Brahman was ever named Iarchas, a corruption possibly of *Yasca*, the name of a sage who wrote a glossary for the *Vidas*. Ganges was never considered as a *Male* Deity, but the son of Ganga was a celebrated hero. According to the Hindu legend, when Capila had destroyed the children of Sagara, and his army of Cutila-cesas had migrated to another *Dwipa*, the India monarch was long inconsolable, but his great grandson Bhagiratha conducted the present Ganges to the spot where the ashes of his kindred lay, and they were no sooner touched by the divine water, than 60,000 princes sprang to life again. Another story is, that when Ganges and other great rivers were swoln to such a degree that the goddess of earth was apprehensive of a general inundation, Bhagiratha (leaving other holy men to take care of inferior rivers) led the Ganges (from him named Bhagiratha) to the ocean, and rendered her salutary to the earth, instead of destructive to it.

These tales, adds Mr. Wilford, are obviously the same in substance with that in the text, with some alterations, &c.

liberty to a country is unquestionably a higher instance of virtue than to enslave a city, and that for a woman, who probably was not carried away against her consent. Besides, the Prince who reigned in that country, at present under the subjection of Phraotes, contrary to all justice, carried off the wife of Ganges, and her virtue was such, that he would not break the alliance entered into with him, saying, that in spite of the injury offered to himself, he would not violate a treaty which he had religiously sworn to observe.

CHAP. XXI.

I COULD enumerate many more actions of this man, said Iarchas, were I not afraid of speaking in my own praise, as being the identical person myself, which I proved when only four years of age. Ganges,* it is known, buried in the ground seven adamantine swords, which he did for the purpose of freeing the country ever after of all hostile alarm. The God's ordered a sacrifice to be offered on the very spot where the swords were hid, but the place no one could point out. Though at the time but young,† I conducted the interpreters of the oracle to the place where I commanded them to dig, and said the swords were deposited.

* The Indians, says Ctesias, used to bury iron in the ground for the purpose of averting the consequences arising from clouds, and hail, and whirlwinds, and he adds, that he himself was twice a witness to the truth of the experiment.

† Ev'n I, who these mysterious truths declare,

Was once Euphorbus in the Trojan war;

My name and lineage I remember well,

And how in fight by Sparta's King I fell.

In Argive Juno's faue I late beheld

My buckler hang on high, and own'd my former shield.

OVID, b. 15.

C H A P. XXII.

BE not surprised, said Iarchas, at my transformation from Indian to Indian. Here is a youth (and he pointed to one not more than twenty years of age) who is above all men I know, best qualified for cultivating philosophy, one who is in good health, of an excellent constitution, and capable of enduring whatever pain arises from fire or amputation, and yet, though such as I have described, he hates philosophy. Under what species of disease, said Apollonius, do you think he labors? For it is extraordinary to think that a man of such endowments whilst in your society, should neither cultivate nor love philosophy. The truth is, said Iarchas, he is not in our company, but rather in our keeping, for like a lion taken and confined against his will, he looks upon us with an evil eye, even at the time when flattering and caressing him. This youth was Palamedes, who served in the war at Troy, where he had to encounter two most bitter enemies, Ulysses, and Homer, one of whom laid an ambuscade for him, in consequence of which he was stoned to death, and the other deemed him unworthy of any place in his poems. When he found that his wisdom was of no avail, and his name unrecorded by Homer, who has noticed many others of less celebrity, and besides that he was outwitted by Ulysses, though innocent, he hates philosophy, and deplores his own fate. And this is the Palamedes who wrote without ever having been taught the use of letters.

C H A P. XXIII.

WHILST they were talking in this manner, a messenger came to Iarchas, saying, the King will wait on you at mid-day to discourse on some business of his own. Iarchas

said to him, let him come, for he may go back better than he came, after conversing with this Greek. Having given this answer, he recurred to his first discourse, and asked Apollonius if he could tell the first body in which he appeared, and in what condition of life he was before the one he was in at present? To this Apollonius replied, as it was ignoble, I remember little of it. What, said Iarchas, do you consider the being pilot of an Egyptian vessel, as ignoble? for I know you were one. You are right, said Apollonius, I was, and yet consider that condition of life not only ignoble, but detestable in the world. I know a knowledge of maritime affairs is held as reputable as that of governing a city or commanding an army, but it has fallen into contempt on account of the character of such as follow it. But the action of all others on which I pride myself in that state, is not one which has entitled me to much praise. What is the action to which you allude? returned Iarchas; is it the having doubled Capes Malea and Sunuim, by a skilful management of your vessel? or the having been able to discern whether the winds blew from the prow or stern? or having surmounted all the difficulties attending on the navigation round the rocky and hollow shores of Eubea?

CHAP. XXIV.

SINCE, said Apollonius, you compel me as it were to speak of naval affairs, listen, and I will tell you what I think was my principle exploit. A nest of pirates infested the Phenician sea, whose business was visiting all the cities on the sea-coast, and learning what were the cargoes of the several merchant-men belonging to each. These pirates had certain emissaries in league with them, who as soon as they learnt that my vessel was richly laden, took me apart, and asked me how much of the freight came to my share?

I told them one thousand drachmas, which was the truth, there being but four of us who had the command of the ship. They asked if I had a house? I said, I had a small cabin in the isle of Patmos, where Proteus dwelt of old. They next asked, if I did not prefer the land to the sea, a house to a cabin, and ten thousand drachmas to a thousand, with an exemption from all the dangers to which a sailor's life is exposed. I replied in the affirmative; and said, I did not like turning pirate, as I was just beginning to excel in my profession as a pilot, and had acquired reputation enough to be crowned for my nautical skill. But they persevered, and at last said they would give me a purse of ten thousand drachmas, if I would comply with their wishes. All this time I talked with them, as one who wished to shew himself most devoted to them. Whereupon they owned themselves the agents of the pirates, and without more ado, requested my permitting them to take possession of the ship, with the further request of not returning to the city, after having once hoisted sail, but casting anchor near the promontory under which the vessels of the pirates were stationed. They said, they would bind themselves by an oath not to put me to death or any one in whose favor I interceded. This proposal of theirs I thought it then unsafe to notice as it merited, from an apprehension that if refused they might attack us when out at sea and put us all to the sword. I promised to do as they wished, but said it was necessary for them to swear not to kill me nor break their engagement. They swore (it was in a temple all this passed) and afterwards I pressed them to make all the haste they could to the ships, adding, we shall loose sail, as soon as it is night. This behaviour on my part satisfied them they had to deal with a man in whom they could confide, and what did not diminish this confidence was, that in talking of the money, I begged it might be all paid down in good current specie, yet not till after they had taken possession of the vessel; on this they de-

parted, and I put to sea, and got as far from the promontory as I could. And is this, said Iarchas, what you look on as a great act of justice? Yes, and of humanity too, said I: for I think many virtues are comprised in the character of a pilot, who neither destroys the lives of men nor wastes the substance of his employers, and who, above all, conquers his love for money.

CHAP. XXV.

AT hearing this,* the Indian with a smile says, methinks you make justice consist in not doing injustice, which is a general opinion among the Greeks. I have heard formerly the Egyptians say, who used to visit this country, that magistrates are sent you from Rome with a naked axe carried before them, without knowing whether the people they are going to govern are good or bad: and you call all magistrates good, who do not make a sale of justice. A similar practice is adopted by slave-merchants when they bring a cargo of slaves from Caria, in the schedule given in of their several characters and dispositions, they make the chief merit of them to consist in their not being thieves. After the same most honorable manner you treat the governors set over you; you give both an equal share of praise,

* The Gymnosophists, says Bayle, in general, have been an honor to their profession. The maxims ascribed to them by historians, and the discourses they are said to have held, savour of nothing that is rude or savage; on the contrary, adds he, they abound with a great many very reasonable and sensible observations, which shew a deep meditation. One ought not to complain, continues Bayle, that they did not well keep up the dignity of philosophy; for their way was, never to go and meet any person whatever, but to put things upon this foot, even with regard to kings, so that if any man wanted them, he was obliged to give them notice of it, either by coming to them himself or by sending a messenger to them. This will appear in the sequel.

and dismiss both crowned with a glory equally to be envied. The wisest of your poets suffer you not to be just and good, even had you the inclination. Minos, who surpassed all his contemporaries in cruelty, and reduced to slavery not only the people of the isles, but those of the cities on the sea coast, is placed in hell by the poets to administer justice to the shades,* and the sceptre of justice is given him as a mark of honor.—But Tantalus, who was a benevolent man, and bestowed on his friends the blessing of immortality, the gift of the Gods, is deprived by the same poets of both meat and drink. Some bards even add insult to the injury which they do this divine and good man, by suspending a stone over his head. For my part I should like to see him placed in a lake of nectar, of which he made so generous a distribution to others. Saying this, he shewed them a statue which stood on the left inscribed with the name of Tantalus.† It was about four cubits high, had the appearance of a man of fifty years of age, and was dressed after the fashion of Argos, with only a slight difference in the chlamys, that was like the Thessalian. In one hand was a phial large enough to quench a man's thirst. Wherein sparkled a most pure liquor, and which was always full without overflowing. The opinion entertained of this liquor, and of the occasion of drinking it,

* For this, among other reasons, Plato banished poets from his common-wealth. There is too much of this distortion of moral sentiment in some of the best poets, from Homer down to Milton and Boileau. Cicero says, Plato did well to dismiss them from the state which he modelled, when he inquired after the soundest policy and best ordered common-wealth.

† This story of Tantalus tends to confirm the theory of Sir William Jones, who says, in his third discourse on the Hindus, "we now live among the adorers of those deities who were worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the Ionick and Attick writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language."

shall be explained hereafter. Of this we may be assured, that Tantalus, in consequence of his not keeping silence, and his not refusing nectar to mankind, is slighted by the poets, but not by the Gods. For had he incurred their displeasure, he would not have been esteemed a good man by the Indians, who are the friends of the Gods and act only under the influence of heaven.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILST engaged in this conversation, a noise alarmed them from the village, which was caused by the arrival of the King, who came with more than Median pomp and parade. Iarchas, somewhat indignant, said, had it been Phraotes, every thing would have been as still as in the sacred mysteries. From this Apollonius inferred, that this King was not equal to Phraotes, either in part or in the whole of philosophy. But when he perceived no alteration made on the part of the sages, nor any suitable preparation for the King's coming about mid-day, he asked them where he was to reside during his stay. Here, they replied, in this very place. Why he comes, we shall talk over at night, the time most fitting for council. Is any separate table, said Apollonius, to be provided for him? Yes, said Iarchas, one richly furnished with every thing we have. What, said Apollonius, do you live well? No, frugally, for though allowed many things, we are content with few. However, the King requires many things, for so is his pleasures, at the same time he eats of nothing having life, the same being held unlawful. Consequently, his table will be supplied with such varieties only as are used in second courses, namely, vegetables of different kinds, and fruits which India supplies at this season, and does in every change of climate. But behold—he comes.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE King arrived, accompanied by his brother and son, sparkling in gold and precious stones. Iarchas would not suffer Apollonius to rise on the King's coming in, as it was not the custom of the country. Damis tells us, he was not present at this interview, from being obliged that day to go to the neighbouring village, but he says, he has truly related what he heard from Apollonius. When the King made his entrance, he held out his hand to each of the sages, who remained seated; he approached like a suppliant with some humble request, to which, when they gave assent, promising to do what he wished, he seemed to be as much pleased with it as if it came from an oracle. The king's brother, and son (who by the by was a very handsome youth) were considered by the sages in no other light than if they had been domestics belonging to the royal suite. After this the Indian rose and made a speech, in which the King was ordered to take some refreshment, to which he most graciously assented. Whereupon, four Pythian tripods (such as are used by the priests of Apollo at Delphi) came forward, like those described in Homer.*

* That day no common task his labour claimed :

Full twenty tripods for his hall he fram'd.

That plac'd on living wheels of massy gold,

(Wondrous to tell) instinct with spirit, roll'd

From place to place, around the blest abodes

Self-mov'd, obedient to the beck of Gods.

HOMER, POPE, b. 18.

Tillemont is puzzled to ascertain whether the wondrous things mentioned in the text were the effects of magic or downright lies; I am not puzzled in the least about them, as I consider them all of the latter description.

This feast, Bishop Parker considers as the most pleasant scene of the whole comedy, in which there was no need of any attendants; but the

Then advanced cup-bearers of black brass, like the Ganymedes and Pelopses of the Greeks. The earth strewed herbs under them much softer than our beds. Bread and fruits, and the vegetables of the season, together with the dainties used at second courses, came of themselves, each in order, better dressed than what they could be by our cooks. Of the tripods two of them handed about wine, and of the remaining two, one handed about warm water, and the other cold. The gems which came to us from the Indies are so small, that the Greeks set them in necklaces and rings, but with the Indians, cups and goblets are made of them large enough to drink out of, and satisfy the thirst of four men in the heat of summer. The cupbearers of brass mixed the wine and water for the company, in equal proportions, which they presented to every man in small cups, as is customary at our feasts. The guests sat down as at a public entertainment, without shewing any mark of respect to the King, which among the Greeks and Romans is considered of so much importance. The truth is, each guest sat down as chance directed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

DURING the repast, Iarchas said, I drink to you, O King! and beg leave to present to you a Greek whose

the chairs and the stools, the pots and the cups, the dishes and the plates, understood every one their own offices; and so served in the entertainment themselves, and ran hither and thither as the guests commanded, or their attendance required.

A book interspersed with such anecdotes, says Dr. Douglass, Bishop of Salisbury, may perhaps gain credit with one who can digest the spurious travels of Sir John Mandeville, or the wonders of Lilliput and Brobdignac: but with every serious person it carries its own confutation along with it. "*Magna Homeri mendacia, majoribus mendaciis corrigit,*" says Ludovicus Vives.

name is Apollonius, and who sits on the seat immediately below you. Saying this, he made known by a sign that he was a good and divine man. I am told, said the King, that he and his companions in the next village are the particular friends of Phraotes. They are, replied Iarchas, and were most hospitably entertained by him. To what studies, said the King, is he addicted? To the same as Phraotes. I think, said the King, his pursuing those studies which has prevented Phraotes's acting like a man, is not much to his advantage. I request, O King! says Iarchas, that you speak more modestly of philosophy and Phraotes. Whilst you were young we made allowances for your youth, but now that you are old, you should spare such foolish, rash expressions. Then Apollonius, by the help of an interpreter said, what great advantage O King! have you derived from not having studied philosophy? only *that*, said the King, of possessing every virtue, and of being one and the same with the sun. Here Apollonius, willing to check his pride, said, if you had studied philosophy you would never have entertained such sentiments. Well then, said the King, you who are so good a philosopher, what do you think of yourself? That I am good only whilst I apply myself to philosophy. Hereupon the King with hands uplifted to heaven cried out—By the sun I swear you are come to us full of Phraotes. This expression Apollonius considering of unexpected advantage, said, I have not travelled in vain, if I am full of Phraotes; and if ever you meet him you will say that he is full of me. He expressed a desire of writing to you in my behalf, but when he told me that you were a good man, I declined giving him the trouble of a letter, when I recollected that no one had written to him in my favor.

CHAP. XXIX.

HERE ended the King's first indiscretion, for when he heard he was praised by Phraotes, he said in a low tone of voice without any suspicion, be welcome, most excellent stranger. To which Apollonius said, and be you welcome, O King! for it is only now we can say you are arrived. The King continued, Who brought you here? These Gods, or these sages, returned Apollonius. Then the King turning to Apollonius, said, do the Greeks say much of me? As much, replied Apollonius, as you say of them. For my part, said the King, I do not think there is any action of theirs which is worth speaking of. Well, said Apollonius, I will tell them this, that they may honor you with a crown at the next Olympic Games.

CHAP. XXX.

ON this Apollonius turning to Iarchas, said, let us leave this unwise man to his folly. But tell me why you think the King's brother and son not deserving of a place at the common table? and why no particular mark of respect is paid them? Because, said Iarchas, it is supposed they may one day mount the throne, and therefore they are neglected now, that by it they may be taught not to neglect others in their turn. Apollonius perceiving that the number of the wise men exceeded not eighteen, asked Iarchas if any thing was signified by that number, as it was not one of the quadrats, nor any of those numbers to which dignity and reverence were paid, like ten, twelve, sixteen, &c. Iarchas replied, we are not the slaves of particular numbers, nor is any one more esteemed than another; because all preference amongst us arises from

wisdom and virtue. I have heard that my grandfather was elected a member of the college of the sages, when they amounted to eighty-seven, and he was then the youngest of them. He outlived them all, being one hundred and thirty years old: no man in India had a more philosophical genius, or was in other respects more illustrious. To some Egyptians who congratulated him on being left alone at the head of the college for four years, he said, by way of exhortation, do not reproach the Indians for the number of their wise men being so few. But for ourselves, Apollonius, who have heard from the Egyptians of the custom of the Eleans, and of the ten Hellanodici who preside at the Olympic Games, we do not approve of the law which is enacted for the election of these men. For the election is left to chance, which is blind, foresees nothing, and may fall upon the most unfit candidate. Even on the supposition of the lot falling on the most deserving, the original error would not be less. For as there is no departing from the number ten, some worthy men must lose their election, when the number of fit candidates exceeds ten: and when the number falls short, undeserving men will obtain the honor. Hence the Eleans would act with more consistency and propriety if they preserved their virtue, and not their number.

CHAP. XXXI.

WHILST they were discoursing in this manner, the King endeavoured to interrupt them by some ill-timed injudicious observations. He asked what was the subject of their discourse? We were talking of matters of great consequence, said Apollonius, and what are highly esteemed among the Greeks; but what I believe are of little estimation in your eyes, considering the great disregard you entertain for that people. That is true, said the King, but

yet I wish to learn, for methinks you were talking of the Athenians who were formerly the slaves of Xerxes. No, said Apollonius, we were speaking of matters of a different nature, but since you have mentioned the Athenians in terms as unfounded as inconsiderate, will you tell me O King! whether you have any slaves? Yes, twenty thousand, of whom not one is bought, being all born within my own dominions. Then, Apollonius, by his interpreter asked,* whether it was usual for him to fly from his slaves, or for his slaves to fly from him? To this remark the King, as if to add insult to what was said, replied, such a question could only proceed from the mouth of a slave. Yet I will answer it, and tell you, that it is the part of slaves, and of slaves of the lowest kind, to run away from their masters, and not the part of the masters, who have the power of punishing, and even of putting them to the torture for misconduct, to run away from them. You have now made it quite evident, O King! said Apollonius, that Xerxes was the slave of the Athenians, and a slave of the vilest description, because he ran away from them. This same Xerxes was defeated by the Athenians in a sea fight in a narrow strait, and when terrified about his shipping stationed in the Hellespont, fled in a single boat. And notwithstanding all this, returned the King, he burnt Athens with his own hands. For which, replied Apollonius, he suffered more than ever man did, in being obliged to fly from those whom he thought to have utterly destroyed. For my own part, when I consider Xerxes in the elevated character in which he undertook the expedition, I cannot help thinking he might have been deservedly considered by some as Jupiter; but in his flight, alas, how changed, of all men the most miserable. For

* The necessity Apollonius is under of making use of an interpreter, is no very convincing proof of his knowing languages.

had he fallen by the hands of the Greeks, who would have been more celebrated? For whom would have been erected a more noble monument? What military games and musical entertainments would not have been exhibited to his honor? If Melicerta,* or Palemon, and Pelops, a stranger from Lydia, of whom the former died when young, and the latter not till after he reduced Arcadia and Argolis, and the country within the Isthmus: if I say they were honored by the Greeks as Gods, what would not have been done for Xerxes by men who naturally love virtue, and consider the praise bestowed on the vanquished, as the best reward that can accrue to the conquerors.

CHAP. XXXII.

WHILST Apollonius was speaking in this manner, the King burst into tears, and cried out, what a people are those Greek whom you talk of? And how comes it to pass then, said Apollonius, that you treat them with such contempt? Because, stranger, said the King, the Egyptians, who call themselves alone wise and religious, abuse them whenever they come here, and say, that all the rites and ceremonies of religion, which are in esteem amongst the Greeks, were discovered by them: and to this they add, that they are destitute of all real knowledge, that they are insolent, factious, and turbulent; liars also, and fond of the marvellous, and pitiful traders, who make a display of their poverty, not as a matter of honest praise,

* The story of Ino, and her two sons, Learchus, and Melicerta, is well known. Ovid Metom: b. iv. Melicerta is called by the Greeks *Palemon*, though from the text a difference might be supposed, which says, if *the Melicertas, and Palemons*, &c. Some think that the Isthmian games were instituted in honor of Melicerta.

but as a pretence to excuse their piratical disposition. But, since I now learn from you that they are the friends of honor and virtue, I am henceforth their friend, and will give them my support with a permission of being solicited in their behalf in all that can do them good. As to the Egyptians, I will for the future regard them with some diffidence. Whereupon, Iarchas observed, I know, O King! that your ears were poisoned by the Egyptians, but I declined to speak in their favor till you found such an advocate for them as Apollonius. But now having come to the knowledge of better things by means of such a wise man, let us drink the cup of friendship appointed by Tantalus, and go to rest in order that we may perform whatever is necessary to be done during the night. Whenever hereafter, O King! you are pleased to visit us, I shall be happy to communicate to you all I know of the learning of the Greeks, which is so general over the world. Saying this, Iarchas began his initiation by drinking to his guests of that cup which was enough to satisfy all the world, it yielding plentifully a liquor which flowed from it, as if from a perennial spring. Apollonius joined in this cup of amity, because the custom of drinking in fellowship was found out by the Indians to strengthen the bonds of friendship, wherein Tantalus was constituted cup-bearer, as one, who above all men, cultivated friendly intercourse.

CHAP. XXXIII.

AFTER drinking to friendship, they laid themselves down on the couches the earth afforded. At mid-night the sages rose and celebrated with hymns the solar ray in the same elevated position they did at mid-day: and afterwards attended to what business the King required. Damis says, Apollonius did not assist at all conferences which took

place between the King and the wise men, but thinks he communicated with them, as to some secrets of government. On the approach of day, when the sacrifices were finished, the King addressed Apollonius, and invited him to his court, that he might share with him in the rights of hospitality, at the same time saying, he hoped he would send him back to the Greeks an object of envy to them. Apollonius was pleased with this civility, and thanked him for his kindness ; but begged to decline the honor, from an apprehension of forming a connexion with a man so different from himself ; and besides, he thought his long absence from home might make his friends suppose they were neglected by him. The King, however, persevered, and pressed his invitation even to meanness ; whereupon, Apollonius remarked, that a prince is always to be suspected of some sinister purpose, whenever he urges a request in terms not befitting his rank and dignity. On this, Iarchas came forward, and said, you treat, O King ! with some disrespect our holy asylum, in endeavouring to withdraw from it a person in spite of himself. For as he is conversant with the secrets of futurity, he knows any further intercourse with you will not benefit him, and perhaps not you. When the King heard this, he returned to his village, as the rules of the sages did not permit him to remain more than one day with them.

C H A P. XXXIV.

THEN Iarchas desired a messenger to go and invite Damis to attend, a man esteemed every way fit to be initiated in the arcana of our mysteries ; and let the messenger see that proper attention be paid to his friends who remain at the village. As soon as Damis arrived, the sages having taken their seats as usual, gave Apollonius permission to ask whatever questions he pleased. His first

question was, of what materials the world was made?* and the answer he received from them was, that it was made of elements. What, said Apollonius, of four elements? No: not of four, said Iarchas, but of five. And what, said Apollonius, after water, air, earth, and fire, do you consider as a fifth element? Ether, said the Indian, from which it is supposed the Gods have their origin: for whatever things breathe air,† are mortal, but whatever breathe ether, are immortal and divine. Apollonius next inquired what element first existed? Iarchas answered, they all existed together, and were coeval; for an animal is not produced by parts. What, said Apollonius, am I to consider the world as an animal? Yes, said Iarchas, if you consider it rightly: for it produces all living things. Shall we then say it is of the feminine sex, or of both, the feminine and masculine? Of both, said Iarchas, for by an act of self-coalescence it performs the functions of both father and mother in the generation of animals,‡ and is more ardently fond of itself, than other animals are of

* Pythagoras first called the world *κοσμος* from its order and beauty.

† The air, according to Pythagoras, which is diffused about the earth, is unmoved and unwholesome, and all things that are in it are mortal; but the air which is above is perpetually in motion, and pure, and healthful, and all that are in it are immortal, and consequently divine. This is called—*The free Ether*, (immediately above the moon) ether, as being void of matter, and an eternal body; *free*, as not being obnoxious to material disturbances. Hence it follows, that the sun, moon, and the rest of the stars, according to Pythagoras, are Gods—and as the sun is the principal object of eastern worship, we may suppose the doctrine was derived by him from the Indians. Besides, the sun, and the other planets, as being Gods, were considered from time immemorial as objects of divine worship in almost all parts of the world.

‡ Progenitor genetrixque Deūm, Deus unus et omnis. So says Valerius Soranus, a Latin poet who lived in the time of Julius Cæsar, in speaking of Jupiter.

each other, inasmuch as it unites to, and coalesces with itself, which coalescing self-union implies no absurdity. And as it is the part of an animal to move itself by the means of hands and feet; and as it also possesses a mind capable of exciting it to action, in the same manner we are to suppose the parts of the world by the assistance of the mind, capable of accommodating itself to all its different productions. Even the calamities which arise from the sun's excessive heat, are all under the influence of the directing soul of the world, and never take place except when justice is banished from among men. But this animal is directed not by one hand, but many, which are not to be expressed; and though from its magnitude it cannot be managed by means of a bridle, yet is easily ruled and made obedient.

CHAP. XXXV.

I AM at a loss to know what image will best elucidate the above observation, which is of the highest concern, and far beyond my conception. Let us for instance borrow our image from that kind of ship which the Egyptians of old used to build, and navigate in our seas, for the purpose of exchanging the merchandise of Egypt for that of India. There is still existing with us an ancient law respecting the Red Sea,* which was passed by King

* The original Erythrean, or what is erroneously called the Red Sea, was that part of the Indian ocean which washes Arabia and Persia, and extends, I believe, as far as the coast of Malabar. Hence it is, Herodotus says, that the Euphrates and Tigris, fall into the Mare Erythræum. So that in fact the *Sinus Persicus*, and the *Sinus Arabicus*, the latter of which is now alone denominated the Red Sea, were only two branches of the original *Erythræum Mare*. The name Erythræum I suppose is of Indian origin, but which the Greeks erroneously

Erythras when he was master of it, saying "Let not the Egyptians enter our sea in a ship of war, but let them come with one merchant-man only." In consequence of this prohibition, the Egyptians most ingeniously contrived a vessel which answered the purposes of many used by other nations. In the construction of this vessel, they observed the exact proportions employed in ship-building, but took care to have its sides enlarged, and the mast elevated. They formed several rooms within, like as are found in ships of many decks. There were on board divers pilots, all under the controul of one respected for his age and experience. At the prow sat many directors, and a variety of hands were employed of great skill and dexterity to manage the sails. Part of the crew were armed, for it was found necessary to be prepared in case of an attack from the Corsairs who lay to the right of the bay, and infested its entrance. Now such is the opinion should be formed of this world, when we consider it under the image of a ship. The chief, and most conspicuous place is to be assigned to God, the creator of the animal,* and the next under him to the Deities who govern in its several parts. And herein we give full assent to what the poets say, when they tell us that there are many Gods in heaven, and in the sea, and in the springs, and rivers, and likewise in the earth and under the earth. But that place under the earth, if such a place exists, which is described

neously derived from *έρυθρος*, which the Romans translated *ruber*, red. The prohibition in the text of King Erythras not suffering any ship of war to enter his sea, is curious, and I am surprised the reason of it has escaped the searches of the late oriental writers.

* In the mundane system of the Indians and Pythagoreans, the *Sun* holds the highest place; under him are Mercury and Venus, and our globe, and under it are its shadow, and Mars and Saturn more remote, which are called *υπογην*, or *υπογαια*, under the earth.

as dreary and gloomy,* let us separate from our idea of the world.†

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHILST the Indian was thus speaking, Damis owns he was so much delighted, that he could not keep silent: for he was not able to comprehend how an Indian, though he had learnt the Greek tongue, could have acquired the facility of speaking it so fluently and correctly. He commends the cheerful dignified air with which he uttered doctrines like one under a divine influence. Damis adds, that Apollonius, who spoke with such mildness and modesty, acquired so much the manner of the Indian, that whenever he spoke sitting (which was his constant custom) he greatly resembled Iarchas.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE rest of the Sages expressed their approbation of what was said in the same language. Whereupon Apollonius asked which was greater, the earth or the sea? To this Iarchas said, if we compare the earth with the

* Let us separate what is dark, and dreary, and horrid, from that world called *κοσμος*, which is the source of order, and beauty, and delight.

† In the above description, Cudworth admits we have a true representation of the old pagan theology, which both Indians, and Egyptians, and European poets (Greek and Latin) all agree in: that there is one supreme God the maker of the universe, and under him many inferior generated Gods, or understanding beings (superior to man) appointed to govern and preside over the several parts thereof, who were also to be religiously honored and worshipped by men.

sea, we must allow the former to be the greater, as it contains the sea. But if we take into consideration every existing fluid, we shall say the earth is the lesser body, inasmuch as it is sustained by water.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

IN the midst of this conversation a messenger arrived, introducing to the sages some Indians who implored their assistance. Among them was a woman who came to intercede for her son, a youth about sixteen years of age, who for the last two years was possessed of a lying wicked demon. One of the sages asked on what grounds she said this? Because, replied she, a demon has fallen in love with him for his beauty, who suffers him not to enjoy any freedom of will, nor to go to school, nor shoot his bow, nor even stay at home, but drags him abroad into lonely and desert places. Besides, said she, he no longer retains his natural voice, but speaks like a man, and sees objects with eyes very different from his own. This is the cause why I weep and tear my bosom, and endeavour all I can to have him restored to his right mind, but alas! he knows me not. At the same time I must tell you that, when once I had made up my mind to come to you, which is now more than a year, the demon confessed by the mouth of my boy, as his interpreter, who he was. He owned himself to be the ghost of a man who had fallen long ago in battle, and who had been extremely fond of

* This is agreeable to holy scripture, which says, "To him that stretched out the earth above the waters"—"and the earth standing out of the water, and in the water."

That water was the primitive element, and first work of the creative power, is the uniform opinion of the Indian philosophers.

Sir W. JONES.

his wife : but, that when he understood she had violated his marriage bed, and wedded another man only three days after his death ; his love for the sex turned to hatred, and all his affections passed to this boy. At last the demon promised, on the conditions of my making no complaint to you, that he would do my son much good. I suffered myself to be tempted by his promises ; but he has now long deceived me, and has got possession of my house, which he keeps without one sentiment of truth or honor. Here one of the sages asked if the boy was at hand ? His mother said he was not, for the demon did all he could to prevent his coming : for precipices and antres dire, and death itself, were held out by way of threats, should I bring this matter before your tribunal. Take courage, woman, said the wise man, for as soon as he has read this letter, he will harm you not, and with these words, he took one from his bosom,* and gave it to the woman, which was written to the spectre, containing many things, enough not only to alarm, but terrify him.†

CHAP. XXXIX.

WHEN the woman was gone, a lame man approached, who was about thirty years of age, who had been a desperate hunter of lions. In an encounter with one of these animals, his hip-bone was dislocated, by which he had one foot shorter than the other. The moment the

* This is another proof, added to the one mentioned in the 17th chapter, that the Brachmans did not go naked ; the letter in his bosom must have been concealed under some covering.

† But whether the demon was expelled from the youth, we do not find that either Apollonius or Damis ever inquired ; and wise they were in so doing, for they would only have had their labour for their pains.

sage touched the part affected with his hand, the man recovered the use of his limb, and walked upright. Another man who was blind, departed after his sight was restored to him. Another who had lost the use of his hand went away as soon as it was cured. A woman who had had seven difficult labors, was thus cured at the intercession of her husband. He was ordered when his wife was in the act of labor to enter the room with a live hare concealed in his bosom,* and to go round the bed where she lay; and at the very instant of her being delivered, to let go the hare; for he was told if the hare was not let loose at the moment of birth, the matrix would come away with the child.†

CHAP. XL.

TO a father who came complaining of his children all dying as soon as they tasted wine, Iarchas said, it is better they died, for had they not, they must all have been mad, considering the warmth of their natural constitutions. There-

* Though every country has certain superstitions peculiar to itself, it is something extraordinary that there should be such a similarity in the follies of two such distant ones, as appears from what is mentioned in the text, compared with the following instances:—

The womb or matrix of a hare pulverised, and about an ounce of it drank in a glass of *tent*, causes conception.—The eyes drawn entire out of the head of a hare taken in March, and dried with pepper, one of these being so tied to the belly, that the sight of the eye may touch it, this will facilitate labor in women.

See Keogh's Zoologia Medicinales Hibernica, Dublin, 1739.

† And if the child had had a *hare-lip* when it came into the world, who would have been surprised?

Ces extravagances, says Du Pin, et quantité d'autres que Philostrate rapporte sur la foi de Damis, font assez connoître ce qu' on doit penser de cet ouvrage.

fore I think your children should so abstain from wine, as not to be even affected by the desire of it. And if hereafter you happen to have a child, (by the way I see you have had one within the last week) you should first observe where the owl builds her nest, then rob it of its eggs, and make your child eat of them after being gently boiled. For if he eats of them before he tastes wine, he will loath that liquor, and become the most moderate of men, possessed only of that temperature of constitution which is natural to him. Apollonius and Damis, full of all they saw and heard, and amazed at their superior knowledge,* asked many questions, and were asked many in their turns.†

C H A P. XLI.

IN all conferences which were merely dialectical, Apollonius and Damis both assisted. But Damis says, Apollonius was only admitted by Iarchas to the discussion of the mysteries of astrology, and divination, and futurity, and sacrifices, and evocations, in which the Gods take pleasure. From what he learnt among them, he composed four books on astrology, of which Meragenes has made mention. He wrote also a treatise on sacrifices, in which the most proper way of sacrificing to each of the Gods was set down. For my part I think the science of astrology, and the art of divination, are above human capacity, and I am doubtful whether they are possessed by any one. His treatise on sacrifices I have met with in many temples, cities, and houses of the learned. But who can explain

* After reading the above, I think we might say with Dromio, in the Comedy of Errors (a name most suitable to the subject) "We talk with goblins, *owls*, and elvish sprights."

† Displayed in this learned dissertation on *owls* eggs.

with becoming eloquence and truth a work composed by such a man.* Damis adds, that Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings, each bearing the name of one of the seven stars, and that he wore them alternately according to the particular name of the day.†

CHAP. XLII.

THE discourse between Iarchas and Apollonius sometimes fell upon foreknowledge, a subject to which, as the latter was greatly addicted, gave often rise to much conversation. Iarchas praised him for it, and said, they who take pleasure in the art of divination, O most excellent Apollonius, become by it divine and useful to mankind. For he who possesses within himself the power of foreknowledge, and is capable by it of instructing the ignorant, in what can only be acquired by having recourse to the oracle itself, I consider him most happy, and equal to the

* On this occasion Du Pin cries out, "Voilà la fruit du grand et pénible voyage D'Apollone: Voilà toute la science qu' il rapporta de ce pais; c'est à dire, qu' il en revint plus idolatre, plus superstitieux, plus extravagant qu' il n' y etoit allè."

† The learned Asiatics, in their mysterious rites, allotted to the seven *terrestrial metals* the same names by which they denominated the seven stars or planets, and the same hieroglyphic characters at this day equally distinguish both—in the passage before us—the ring of gold, a proper emblem of the sun, was worn on Sunday—the ring of silver, an emblem of the moon, on Monday—the ring of iron on Tuesday—the ring of quicksilver on Wednesday—the ring of tin on Thursday—that of brass on Friday—and lastly, that of lead on Saturday.—Dies Solis, dies Lunæ, dies Martis, dies Mercurii, dies Jovis, dies Veneris—dies Saturni.—Spence in his *Polymetis*, speaks of these seven rings of Apollonius as a matter of great curiosity, which he used to wear, each one day every week, according to the particular planet that gave its name to the day. To this time the Arabians continue to call Apollonius *Thelesmatiki*, on account of his knowledge in the *talismanic art*.

Delphic God. You know the art of divination enjoins all who consult the oracle to approach with pure hearts, otherwise to depart from it. For my part I think that he who wishes to learn the secrets of futurity, should keep himself pure, and free from all mental stain and turpitude whatever; and it is my opinion that a man of this character will utter predictions which he himself and the tripod within his own breast will clearly understand: and that the oracles which he delivers will, on account of the purity of his life, be the more to be relied on. Hence it is not surprising you should possess this kind of knowledge, whose soul is filled with such a portion of the divine ether.

CHAP. XLIII.

IARCHAS at this time willing to have some amusement with Damis, says, And have you, O Assyrian! acquired no knowledge of futurity? you, who have been so long a disciple of such a man? By Jupiter, replied Damis, I just foreknow what is sufficient for my own use: for, from the time I first got acquainted with Apollonius, I thought him a man of great wisdom, gravity, prudence, and moderation, but when added to these virtues, I found him possessed of memory, great learning, and an ardent zeal for all knowledge, I looked on him as some demon. By conversing with him, I became wise from foolish; and civilized from being a barbarian. By following him I became known to the Indians and you; and by keeping company with Greeks, I became a Greek by his assistance. The knowledge you have of such momentous matters as futurity, &c. may be considered as equal to what proceeds from Delphi, Dodona, or any other given oracle. But as to what knowledge I possess of such things (for you see, poor Damis foresees and foreknows only for himself) it

may be all set down, as that of some old sorceress, uttering predictions about stray cattle, or some such other things: when he said this the sages laughed . . .

CHAP. XLIV.

WHEN they had done laughing, Iarchas continued the conversation on the subject of divination, and said, it had rendered great benefit to mankind, of which the greatest was the knowledge of medicine. For the learned sons of Esculapius could never have known their profession so well, had not Esculapius, who was the son of Apollo, in obedience to his father's sayings and predictions, prepared the medicines most proper for curing each disease. These remedies he shewed his children, and taught his scholars what simples were best to be applied to every species of ulcers, whether new or old. But the exact proportions of medical potions, by which dropsies are removed, fluxes of blood stopped, consumptions and other internal complaints abated, together with the fittest medicines to be applied in case of persons poisoned, and the mode of converting the poisons themselves to the cure of diseases, who, I say, will deprive divination of such discoveries? for I do not think that mortals without some knowledge of futurity would have had courage enough to use the most dangerous poisons in the curing of distempers.

CHAP. XLV.

THE conversations which they had concerning the wild beasts, and fountains, and the men, said by the Greeks to be found in India, as being referred to by Damis in his epistles, I think should not be omitted in this place. The natural conclusion from such accounts is, that full credit

is neither to be given to, nor withheld from them. Damis says, Apollonius asked if they had among them the *martichora*?* What, said Iarchas, have you heard of that animal? for if you have, it is probable you have heard something extraordinary of its figure. Great and wonderful are the things I have heard of it, replied Apollonius. It is of the number of quadrupeds, has a head like a man's, is as large as a lion, with a tail from which bristles grow, of the length of a cubit, all as sharp as prickles, which it shoots forth like so many arrows against its pursuers.† Apollonius then inquired about the golden water,‡ mentioned as flowing from certain springs,§ of a stone which possesses the qualities of the magnet, of the men who live under ground,|| of the pygmies,** and also of the *sciapodes*.†† Upon this, Iarchas said, it is useless to speak to you, Apollonius, of the animals, or plants, or fountains, which you have seen in your journey hither, for it is your business to mention them to others: but as to the arrow-shooting wild beast,‡‡‡ and the fountain of gol-

* For a particular description of the *martichora* or *mantichora*, as Pliny calls it, see his *Nat. History*, b. viii. c. 21.—where, I believe, it is only to be found.—Tyson says it is to be met with among the wonderful productions of Ctesias.

† This corresponds with the fabulous accounts given of the porcupine. *Quill-darting porcupine*, is the epithet of Pope.

‡ There is an account in Ctesias of the golden water.

§ See next chapter.

|| Olearius supposes them to be the *Cynocephali* of Ctesias, who have no houses, but dwell in caves. Buffon says they are a species of apes, having long muzzles like dogs.

** Pigmies hereafter.

†† *Sciapodes* are so called, says Pliny, because in the scorching heat of summer they lie on their backs, and defend themselves from the sun's rays by the shadow made with their feet.

‡‡‡ The arrow-shooting wild beast must be the quill-darting porcupine, and the golden water must have given rise to the story of the yellow golden water mentioned in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*,
of

den water, I have never even heard of them in this country.

CHAP. XLVI.

WE have no reason to doubt the existence of the stone which attracts others,* for you may see it and admire its virtues. The largest is about the size of a man's thumb-nail, and is generated in the cavities of the earth about four paces below the surface. It possesses the hidden virtue of causing the ground to swell, and sometimes to open in the place where it is produced. No one is permitted to search for it, and the reason is, because it is acquired only by art. By the performance of certain rites, and utterance of certain words, the pantarba (the name of the stone) is found. By night it gives a light like that of fire, which is of a radiant shining quality, but when seen by day, it dazzles the eyes with a thousand glittering rays. This light contains within it a subtile spirit of ineffable power, which attracts whatever is near it: but why do I say near it? Cast as many stones as you please into the sea, or any running stream, I don't mean all together; but scattered as chance directs, this gem, or stone, immersed where they lie, will draw them all to itself by the

of which a single pot being brought in a proper vessel, and poured into a large bason made for it in any garden, it fills immediately, and forms a fountain, which continually plays, and yet never overflows the bason. *The yellow water* was one of the three things which the Princess Parizade was so desirous to learn from the old devotee—the other two were *the talking bird*, and *the singing tree*.

* No stone better corresponds, I think, with the one mentioned in the text, than that of the magnet, the virtues of which were not wholly unknown to the ancients, though the account given of it by our author, is more the child of poetry than history.

influence of this spirit, and make them form into a cluster like a swarm of bees. When Iarchas said this, he shewed the stone, and what it could do.

CHAP. XLVII.

IARCHAS proceeded, and told them of the pygmies* dwelling under the earth on the other side of the Ganges, and of their living in the way generally ascribed to them; but as to what is said by Scylax† in his history of the Sciapodes and the Macrocephali;‡ I believe they neither exist in India, nor any other place in the world.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE gold said to be dug out of the earth by the griffons,§ is found in stones, which are sprinkled all over with drops of gold, that shine like so many sparks of fire, these

* A race of little men, says Aristotle, mounted on small horses, and who live in caves.—Pliny places the country of the Pygmies among the remotest mountains of India beyond the fountains of the Ganges.—His story of the whole nation descending in the spring, and consuming the eggs and young of the cranes, contains important facts, though obscured by exaggeration, and concealed under the veil of allegory.—It is a well-known fact that the apes, which rove in large bodies in Africa and India, wage continual war with the cranes, on which are founded all the stories of the one nation warring with the other.

BUFFON.

† Scylax, a geographer and mathematician in the age of Darius, son of Hystaspes, about 550 years before Christ. He was commissioned by Darius to make discoveries in the east, and after a journey of 30 months, he visited Egypt.—The latest edition of the Periplus of Scylax is that of Gronovius—4to.

LEMPRIERE.

‡ There is no author except Philostratus, who speaks of a people called Macrocephali—*long-headed*, as living in India, though some of the race are to be found in all parts of the world.

§ Herodotus speaks of the griffons, as guardians of the gold.

stones they break in pieces with their beaks. The griffons found in India are held sacred to the sun, who is always painted in a chariot drawn by four of them.* These animals are as strong and large as lions, against whom they carry on successful war by the assistance of their wings; and it is added, they sometimes overcome the elephant and dragon in battle. They never rise to a great height in flying, being not able to surpass in velocity the most sluggish bird. They have not such feathers as other birds, but the pinions of their wings are fastened by a red membrane, which enables them to fly a little, wheel about, and fight off the ground. The tiger is the only animal not to be conquered by them, and the reason is, that his swiftness is equal to that of the winds.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE bird named the phenix, visits Egypt every five hundred years,† during which time it is said to fly all over India. There is never but one; and it emits rays of the color of gold, and resembles in size and shape the eagle. It sits on its nest, which it makes for itself with spices near the fountains of the Nile. What the Egyptians say of its coming into their country, is said also by the Indians, with this added, that whilst it is burning itself in its nest,

* Not always—for in the second book he is represented at Taxila as drawn by four horses. Sir William Jones says, the Indian poets and painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses.

† The story of the phenix, even in the time of Tacitus, was interesting, and at this day curiosity is gratified with the particulars of so celebrated a fiction.

I suppose it is of Indian origin, under which is veiled some curious allegory.

it sings a farewell dirge. They who have paid most attention to swans,* say as much of them.

CHAP. L.

SUCH were the conversations Apollonius held with the sages, in whose company he spent four months, during which he acquired whatever knowledge they had fit for public, or private use. When he determined on going away, they advised him to dismiss his guide and camels with a civil letter to Phraotes. Afterwards they supplied him with another guide, and other camels, and accompanied him part of the way, congratulating both him and themselves on the pleasure they had in each other's company. When taking leave of him, they assured him he would be considered as a God, not only after his death, but during his life. They then returned to their college, after casting many looks behind, and expressing much sorrow at his departure. Apollonius, meanwhile, proceeded on his journey,† with the Ganges on his right, and the

* The swan, says Buffon, chants not its approaching end; but in speaking of the last flight, the expiring effort of a fine genius, we shall ever, with tender melancholy recal the classical and pathetic expression, "*it is the song of the swan.*"—Cicero in his account of the death of Crassus the orator, alludes to the dying notes of the swan in these words, "*illa tamquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox & oratio; quam quasi expectantes, post ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contucremur.*" Then after mentioning the disorder, of which he died, how just and affecting are his reflections, "*O fallacem hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam, inanes nostras contentiones; quæ in medio spatio sæpe franguntur & corruunt, aut ante in ipso cursu abruuntur quam portum conspicere potuerunt.*"

† His journey must have been to the south—and in that case he must have had the Ganges to the left, and the Hyphasis to the right.

Hyphasis on his left; and in the space of ten days from leaving the holy mount, arrived at the sea.—In descending towards it, they saw on their way numbers of ostriches and wild oxen, and asses, and lions, and pards, and tigers, and a kind of apes not found among the pepper-trees, for what they saw here were black, with shaggy hair shaped like dogs,* and had the appearance of little men. Whilst our travellers amused themselves in talking of what they had seen, they reached the sea-side, where were built several small emporiums, with docks annexed to each, wherein were laid up vessels of the transport-kind, like what are used in the Tyrrhenian sea. The Erythrean sea† appeared of a deep blue color, called so from King Erythras, who had the dominion of it.

CHAP. LI.

ON coming here, Apollonius sent back his camels to Iarchas with the following letter.

“Apollonius to Iarchas and the other sages—health.

“I came to you by land: you have given me the sea. In communicating to me your wisdom, you have opened the road to Heaven: I will remember this among the Greeks, I will continue to enjoy your conversation as if still with you, if I have not drank of the cup of Tantalus in vain. Farewel excellent philosophers.”

CHAP. LII.

IN this place Apollonius took shipping, and whilst carried along with propitious gales, admired the mouth of the

* Cynocephali.

† A further proof of the Erythrean sea, extending as far as the mouth of the Indus.

Hyphasis and the impetuosity with which it discharged itself into the sea. It has been observed before, that this river winded its course through a country full of rocks, narrows, and precipices; and afterwards emptied itself by one mouth into the sea, where it makes a navigation dangerous to all vessels that come too near the land.*

CHAP. LIII.

OUR travellers say they saw the mouths of the Indus, where Patala is situate,† a town encompassed by its waters. This is the place where the fleet of Alexander moored under the command of Nearchus, a man not unskilled in naval tactics. Damis has confirmed every thing said by Orthagoras‡ concerning the Erythrean sea, first, that the constellation of the bear§ is not seen in it, secondly, that the sailors cast no shadow at mid-day, and thirdly and lastly, that the stars visible in it, observe an order different from what they do in other skies: and the truth of these celestial phenomena were not doubted by any one.||

* Here is a great geographical error.—The Hyphasis, which formed the boundary of Alexander's conquests, falls into the Indus on the east side at several hundred miles from the sea.—Therefore what Philostratus calls the mouth of the Hyphasis, was that of the Indus.

† Patala, a town which gives the name of Patalene to an island formed by the two branches of the Indus, through which it discharges itself into the sea. Pliny places this island within the torrid zone.

‡ Orthagoras, a writer frequently mentioned by Ælian in his history of animals—he wrote a treatise on India in nine books, and is supposed to have been a companion with Onesicritus in his voyages.

§ Here is an astronomical error, which might have arisen from Philostratus thinking with Pliny, that Patala was in the torrid zone, but the fact is, it is not even within the tropic—therefore the bear must have been visible.

|| This is what Arrian says in his Indian history as illustrative of the observation in the text.—Nearchus assures us, that during his voyage
along

A small island called Byblos,* was noticed by them, where they saw muscles, and oysters, and a variety of other shell-fish growing upon the rocks, ten times larger than what are found in the Grecian seas. Here they found the stone margarita in a white shell, which, it is said, fills up the space of the heart in an oyster.

CHAP. LIV.

LEAVING the Indus, they touched at Pagala,† a town in the country of the Oritæ, where the very stones and sand are a composition of brass, in which the rivers also abound. It is believed the soil contains gold, on account of the excellency of the brass.

CHAP. LV.

THEY next came to the country of the Ichthyophagi,‡ the capital of which is Stobera,§ whose inhabitants were dressed in the skins of large fishes, of which their cattle

the coast of India, the shadows fall not the same way as in other parts, for when they sailed far into the ocean towards the south, there the shadows nigh noon-day declined southward; and when the sun was upon the meridian, they had no shadows at all, the stars also which were used to appear high above the horizon, either appeared not at all, or came but just in sight, and he observed many of them there to rise and set, which always before had been visible.

* Byblos—I am persuaded with Olearius, that the genuine reading is Bibacta, from what Arrian says of it.—It is an island of Gedrosia, on which Nearchus landed his men, who whilst they were there, caught oysters of a strange and surprising bigness.

† Pagala, an island on the coast of the Oritæ. ARRIAN.

‡ The account of the Ichthyophagi is much the same as that given by Arrian in his Indian history.—Their cattle, he says, have much the same diet as their masters—that is—fish dried, reduced to powder, and mixed with the flower of wheat.

§ Stobera, the capital, no where to be found.

tasted, from being fed in a very singular way. The shepherds here fed them with fish, as they do in Caria with figs.* The Indians called Carmanians are polished, and inhabit a sea-coast which abounds with fish, that are not taken to be preserved, nor are they cured with salt, as is practised on the shores of the Pontus: for of what they take, they sell some, and throw the rest into the sea whilst alive.

CHAP. LVI.

OUR travellers next put into Balara,† a place of some trade, abounding in myrtles and palm trees, in which they say they found the laurel, and plenty of fresh water. The country was well laid out in orchards, and flower-gardens, and had safe harbours. Opposite to it lay the sacred Island called Selera,‡ inhabited by Nereis, a dreadful Goddess, who carried off every mariner she could seize on, and would suffer no ship to cast anchor near it.

CHAP. LVII.

THE account given of another species of the margarita merits attention, as appearing of some importance in the eyes of Apollonius, its formation being curious, and the most wonderful of all marine productions. On the side

* Caria abounds so much with figs, that when dried, they are put to a great variety of uses.

† Balara, supposed to be *Badis*, a well cultivated place of Carmania, where they found plenty of fruit trees, and vines, and corn,

ARRIAN.

‡ Selera must be the *Nasala* of Arrian, from the description which he gives of it—he says it is sacred to the sun, and that he heard one of the Nereids had made it the place of her residence, &c.

of the island situate towards the main, is an immense gulf, which produces an oyster of a white shell, abounding in fat: for here the island is without any rocks. When the sea is calm, which however the inhabitants can cause themselves by the infusion of a little oil,* an oyster-diver furnished after the manner of a gatherer of sponge, with an iron plinth, and an alabaster box of ointment, takes his post near an oyster bed, and uses his ointment for a bait. The moment the oyster opens his mouth he applies the oil, by which the oyster becomes as if intoxicated, he then pricks it with a needle; this causes it to emit a kind of liquid matter, which is immediately caught by the diver in his plinth, that is hollowed into a variety of shapes. It soon grows hard as a

* Or with fine films, suspended o'er the deep,
Of oil effusive, lull the waves to sleep.

Darwin's Botanic Garden.

When oil is diffused on the surface of waters, gentle breezes cannot raise waves upon it; for a small quantity of oil will cover much water, and the wind blowing on this, carries it gradually forwards; and there being no friction between the two surfaces, the water is not affected. On which account oil has no effect in stilling the agitation of the water after the wind ceases, as was found by the experiments of Dr. Franklin.—This circumstance lately brought into notice by Dr. Franklin, had been mentioned by Pliny, and is said to be in use by divers for pearls, who in windy weather take down with them a little oil in their mouths, which they occasionally give out when the inequality of the supernatant waves prevents them from seeing sufficiently distinctly for their purpose.

Darwin's Notes.

Plutarch, in his essay concerning the first principle of cold, says, "oil poured upon the waves, will cause calmness on the sea—not because it is so slippery that the winds can have no power over it, as Aristotle thought, but because the waves will fall and sink, when smitten by any moist body. And this also, he adds, is peculiar to oil, that it shines, and shews itself transparent at the bottom of the water, while the watry humors are dispersed by the air." Not having the original, I cannot say whether this translation is as accurate as it should be.

Plutarch's Morals, by several hands, Lond. 1704.

stone, and assumes the appearance of the natural pearl; and thus you see the celebrated pearl of the Red Sea is nothing but a drop of white indurated blood.* It is said the Arabians of the opposite shore are much addicted to this kind of fishing. All the sea is full of monsters, and whales are seen in troops. Ships navigating the sea, by way of precaution, carry on their sterns and prows little bells, which make a noise, which it is said terrifies these monsters, and prevents their coming near ships.

C H A P. LVIII.

ENTERING the mouth of the Euphrates, our travellers sailed up to Babylon, where they waited on Bardanes, whom they found such as they left him. They then went to Ninus, and from thence proceeded to Antioch, where as usual the citizens were indulging in every species of idle merriment, without leaving any room for those pursuits which are held in such estimation by the Greeks. Near Seleucia they took shipping,† and from thence sailed to Cyprus, where landing, they proceeded to Paphos. Here Apollonius saw the symbolical statue of Venus,‡ which he

* The Persian Gulf abounds with the pearl fish; and fisheries are established on the coasts of the several islands in it. The fish in which pearls are usually produced, is the East Indian oyster, as it is commonly, though not very properly called.

† Seleucia, a town of Syria, on the sea shore, generally called Pieria, to distinguish it from others of the same name.

‡ The statue of the goddess, says Tacitus, bears no resemblance to the human form.—You see a round figure, broad at the base, but growing fine by degrees, till like a cone, it lessens to a point.—The reason, whatever it be, is not explained. See a longer digression than what is usual with that philosophic historian, on the singular worship paid to the Paphian Goddess. **TACITUS, Hist. b. ii. c. 2, 3.**

See

greatly admired, and having instructed the priests of the inner court of the temple in many things, set sail for Ionia amidst the applause and salutations of all who esteemed and valued wisdom.

See Montfaucon on the temple of the Paphian Venus. Eusebius, after reading this third book of Philostratus observes, that there is nothing so fabulous or incredible in all antiquity as are the relations in it.

CHAP. I.

On his coming into Ionia, he proceeded to Ephesus, where the moment he appeared, the natives left their trades and followed him; some admiring his wisdom, others his beauty, some his way of living, others his singular dress, and some admired him in every respect whatever. Certain prophecies from the Oracle of Colophon, were spread abroad in his favor, announcing him as a man possessed of some portion of Apollo's wisdom, who was truly wise, &c. Other prophecies of a like nature were reported from the temples of Didymus and Temnus.

Colophon, a town of Ionia in Asia, at a small distance from the sea. Pliny the elder mentions the Oracle of the Goddess Apollo, and the sacred cave, where he, who drank from the spring, was inspired with prophetic faculties, but shortened his days. Tacitus says, Germanicus went there to consult the Oracle. Ephesus, a place near Miletus, where the Bacchante had their famous oracle. Hieracanthum, a city in the Lycian mountains, so called from the family of the priests. Hieracanthum, a town of Lycia, on the borders of Caria. Hieracanthus had a temple, who was the chief deity of the country.

BOOK IV.—CONTENTS.

*Apollonius visits Ephesus—Account of the Plague—
Goes to Smyrna and Pergamus—Visit to Troy—An
Account of his Interview with the Ghost of Achilles
—Sails into Greece—Visits Athens, &c.—Passes into
Crete and from thence to Rome—Nero Emperor—
Tigellinus.*

CHAP. I.

ON his coming into Ionia, he proceeded to Ephesus, where, the moment he appeared, the artisans left their trades, and followed him; some admiring his wisdom, others his beauty, some his way of living, others his singular dress, and some admired him in every respect whatever. Certain prophecies from the Oracle of Colophon* were spread abroad in his favor, announcing him as a man possessed of some portion of Apollo's wisdom, who was truly wise, &c. Other prophecies of a like nature were reported from the temples of Didyme† and Pergamus,‡

* Colophon, a town of Ionia in Asia, at a small distance from the sea. Pliny the elder mentions the Oracle of the Clarion Apollo, and the sacred cave, where he, who drank from the spring, was inspired with prophetic fury, but shortened his days. Tacitus says, Germanicus went there to consult the Oracle.

† Didyme, a place near Miletus, where the Branchidæ had their famous oracle. Branchidarum Oraculum, so called from the family of the priests.

‡ Pergamus, a town of Mysia, on the banks of Caycus. Here Æsculapius had a temple, who was the chief deity of the country.

wherein all persons who stood in need of assistance were commanded by Apollo to repair to Apollonius, as such was his will, and that of the Fates. Embassadors came from several cities, who offered him the rights of hospitality, considering him not only as the guide of their lives, but as the fittest person to advise them in the erecting of altars and statues. These matters he regulated partly by letters and partly by word of mouth, at the same time saying he would wait on them. Smyrna sent embassadors, without giving any reason for it, but who urged his coming. When he asked them what was their business, they replied, "*To see you, Apollonius, and be seen by you.*" Then Apollonius told them, I will come: but, O ye Muses! grant a mutual affection between us.

CHAP. II.

THE first discourse he had with the Ephesians was in the porch of the temple; not in the Socratic manner of arguing, but in that of authority—of turning them at once from their present pursuits, and persuading them to spend their time in study and philosophy, and not in dissipation and cruel sports; for all people he found immersed in shows, and pantomimes, and Pyrrhic dances; and all places resounded with song, and were filled with noise and debauchery. Though by these remonstrances he alienated from him the minds of the Ephesians, yet he would not wink at their depravity, which he tore up by the roots, and made odious to the people.

CHAP. III.

WHAT other discourse he had with the Ephesians passed in the groves near the Xysta.* Once when the conversa-

* Xysta, were walks uncovered at the top, and intended for exercises and recreations during the milder part of the year.

tion turned on the community of goods, and the necessity there was of contributing to the mutual support of each other, a number of sparrows chanced to be sitting at hand on a tree in deep silence, one of them suddenly rising, made a noise as if he had something to communicate to the rest, which being understood, made them all set up a chirping and fly away under his guidance. Apollonius never stopped talking, for he knew well why the sparrows flew away, though he mentioned it not to the people. When he perceived the eyes of all were turned on the birds, and that some were wondering what this prodigy meant, he, changing the discourse, said, a boy fell, and spilt some corn that he was carrying in a fan; as he gathered up what was on the ground in but a careless manner, he left many grains behind him in a narrow lane, which he particularly mentioned: a sparrow, who saw what passed, invited his companions to the unexpected banquet. Most of those who heard this ran to see if what he said was true; but Apollonius went on, talking to those who remained, on the community of goods, which was the subject he began with. When the hearers who had left him returned shouting with joy and amazement, he said to them, You see now what care these sparrows take of each other, and with what satisfaction they divide their goods; a doctrine which is despised by you; for if we see a man who relieves the wants of others, we consider him idle and extravagant; and all those who are fed by his bounty, as little better than flatterers and parasites. What else, then, have we to do, but shut ourselves up at home, like birds to be fattened for use, and indulge our appetites in darkness till we burst with fat.

CHAP IV.

SOON after the plague made its way into Ephesus, where it spread far and wide. Apollonius, who was ap-

prised of its coming, gave the inhabitants full warning of it. Sometimes whilst discoursing he would exclaim, "O land, remain as thou art;" and at other times would speak in threatening language, "Save this people, and thou shalt not pass through here." To all this the Ephesians paid little or no attention, looking on such declarations as the mere effects of fear and superstition, in which they were the more confirmed when they saw him frequenting all the temples, and appearing as if he wished to avert and deprecate the evil. When he saw the people behaving under such a calamity with their usual levity and imprudence, he thought he had nothing more to do with them; and therefore taking his departure, he travelled through the other regions of Ionia, redressing every where what was wrong, and always speaking on those topics most useful to his hearers.

CHAP. V.

WHEN he was drawing near to Smyrna, the Ionians, who were then engaged in the Panionian sacrifice,* came out to meet him. After reading the decree wherein the Ionians requested him to make one in their assembly, he happened to find a name not Ionian (it was that of one Lucullus), he wrote a letter to the general council, reproaching them for the barbarism. Besides this name, he found that of one Fabricius, and several others in their decrees, for which he sharply rebuked them, as appears from a letter still extant.

* Panionia, a festival celebrated by a concourse of people from all the cities of Ionia. It was instituted in honor of Neptune, surnamed Heliconius from Helice, a city of Achaia. If the bull offered in sacrifice happened to bellow, it was accounted an omen of divine favor, because that sound was supposed to be acceptable to Neptune.

CHAP. VI.

APPEARING next day among the Ionians, he asked what cup was that he saw with them? They said, it was the cup belonging to the general council. Then taking it in his hands, he drank part of what was in it, and of the remainder making a libation, said, O, ye guardian Deities of the Ionians, grant this fair colony a calm sea and safety from all harm; and grant that Ægeon, the shaker of the earth, may not destroy its cities. These words he uttered under a divine impulse, foreseeing, I suppose, the calamity which was going to befall Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, and many others of the Ionian cities.*

CHAP. VII.

HE confirmed the love which the people of Smyrna had for letters, and encouraged it, with telling them to place their glory more in themselves than in the beauty of their city. For notwithstanding your city surpasses all cities under the sun in beauty, having the command of the sea, and possessing the fountains of the zephyrs, yet it derives greater honor from being adorned with men than with porticos and pictures, or even with more gold than what it has at present. Buildings, we all know, are fixed to the

* Olearius has entered into a minute chronological inquiry as to the prediction in the text, and the earthquake which followed, and supposes Philostratus must have blundered as to the one in question; and if not, that the prediction must have looked to the earthquake which destroyed Smyrna in the reign of Marcus Aurelian. As to myself, I think no such earthquake happened at all, for history is totally silent as to one affecting all the places in the text. After the dreadful earthquake in the days of Tiberius, people's fears were so awake, that they were prone to believe any prediction on the occasion

spot on which they are erected, and are to be seen in no other part of the earth; but good men are seen every where, are celebrated in all parts of the world, and render the city which gave them birth famous on the earth. Cities, beautiful like Smyrna and others, might be compared to the statue of Jupiter, made by Phidias in Olympia, which remains immoveable where the artist placed it; but men in the act of travelling over the earth might be compared to Jupiter, as represented by Homer under a variety of forms, who is much more admirable than his ivory image by Phidias; for the one appears on the earth only in one place, but the other every where in the heavens.

CHAP. VIII.

APOLLONIUS, understanding that the people of Smyrna were given up to idle disputings, and were much divided in their opinions, talked with them like a philosopher on the best mode of keeping a city in safety. He said, a well constituted state stood in need of a discordant concord. As this proposition seemed hard to be believed, and not exactly agreeable to the fair deductions of reasoning, and as Apollonius perceived that the majority of his hearers did not comprehend what he said, thus proceeded: White and black cannot be one and the same; what is sweet cannot properly blend with what is bitter; but concord may be discordant for the sake of the many. What I mean is this: a state which requires good education, good laws, and men versed in speaking and acting, should banish sedition, which might lead to civil war. Let an emulation prevail for the common good; let every man contend with his neighbour as to who shall give the best advice, who shall discharge most faithfully the duties of a magistrate, or those of an ambassador, or even of an architect: This is the sort of discord that ought to prevail, and which

I think so good and advantageous to a commonwealth. The Lacedæmonians of old thought the simple idea of contributing to the general good absurd. They cultivated the art of war alone, and made superior excellence in military tactics the chief object of their lives. For my part, I think it right that every man in a state should act in the way best suited to his knowledge and capacity; for, in my opinion, that state will be well governed, and will continue so, whose several members are rated in proportion to their different talents, where some gain applause for eloquence, some for wisdom, some for public munificence, others for integrity, and others for a severe and unpardoning austerity.

CHAP. IX.

WHILST he was thus discoursing, he saw a vessel of three sails leaving the harbour, and all hands at work in getting her under way. Apollonius, from a desire of instructing those present, said, Observe, my friends, the crew of that ship; see how all are employed, some getting into the cock-boat as rowers, others weighing the anchor and lashing it to the side of the vessel, others turning the sails to the wind, and some you see stationed at both prow and stern, to take care that all is right. Now, were we to suppose that any of the crew failed in his post, or unskilfully did his duty, the ship would suffer, and feel all the consequence of a storm. But if a mutual emulation prevail, and the laudable desire of excelling each other, then will the ship go forward as if favored by the most propitious gales. The good conduct of the men on board will be as strong as the *Asphalian* Neptune.* By such dis-

* *Asphalian*, from Ασφαλής tutus—an epithet given to Neptune from the security he affords at sea. Macrobius, in speaking of this epithet of Neptune, observes, that the Gods oftentimes have appellations that are

courses as these he kept the people of Smyrna in the greatest harmony and good humor.

CHAP. X.

THE plague was now raging in Ephesus, and no remedy was discovered that could check its progress; on which account ambassadors came to Apollonius, intreating him to come as their physician and undertake the cure. When he heard this, he said, I think the journey is not to be delayed; and no sooner had he uttered the words than he was at Ephesus, like Pythagoras,* who shewed himself at one and the same time in Thurium and Metapontum. The moment he arrived, he gathered all the people together, and said to them, "Be not dejected, for I will this day put a stop to the disease." Saying this, he carried the people of all ages to the theatre where now stands the statue of *Averruneas*. Here they beheld an old man begging alms, who had a most extraordinary way of winking with his eyes; he had a wallet in his hand, in which he carried crusts of bread; he was clad in rags, and had a

are directly opposite in signification. "Ut Neptunum quem alias *Ενοσιχθονα*, id est, terram moventem, alias *Ασφαλιονα*, id est, stabilientem vocant."

* Porphyry's account in his life of Pythagoras is to this purpose: "That in one and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontum in Italy and Tauromenum in Sicily, and conversed with his friends in both places." As to his curing the plague, and the manner of doing it, *Qui vult decipi, decipiatur*.

There is no need of remarks, says Lardner, upon so silly a story. Justly does Eusebius say that Philostratus's accounts of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, and therefore altogether incredible. But miracles were to be ascribed to him, in order to make out the resemblance with Pythagoras, who is mentioned by Iamblichus as a remover of plagues.

most squalid appearance. As soon as Apollonius cast his eyes upon him, he called to the Ephesians to surround him, and pelt him with stones, as being the enemy of the Gods. The Ephesians were shocked at the idea of killing a stranger* in such a wretched plight (for at this time the poor man appeared in the act of supplication, and doing all he could to excite their compassion). But Apollonius unmoved by this, insisted that what he commanded should be executed, and bid them not to let him escape. When some of the bystanders began to throw stones, he who lately appeared only capable of winking with his eyes, darted them flaming with fire and fury. Hence the Ephesians took him for a demon, and continued pelting him with stones till they piled a heap over his head. Whereupon a pause ensuing, Apollonius ordered the stones to be removed, that all might see the wild beast they had destroyed. But lo! and behold, what they thought was destroyed, had made its escape; and a dog, like one of the Molossian breed, as large as the fiercest lion, appeared when the stones were taken away, vomiting foam as if he was mad. The form this dog assumed was like that given to the statue of Avernuncus.† A statue of Hercules was erected on the very spot where the spectre was stoned.

* Mr. Charles Blount laughs at the idea of Apollonius thinking to stop the plague by sacrificing a poor old beggarman.

† ἀποτροπαιος—*avorter of ills*—was one of the epithets given to Apollo from the benefits he was believed to bestow on mankind.

Talismans that serve for *Avernuncation*, says Stanley in his account of the Chaldaic philosophy, are ascribed by some to Apollonius, who was the first among the Grecians that was famous for them; but it is most probable, he adds, that he brought this art out of the east, where there are yet to be seen many of these figures, or talismans. The God *Avernuncus*, says Pomey, was thought to repel and prevent misfortunes.

CHAP. XI.

AFTER delivering the people of Ephesus from the plague,* and doing what appeared necessary in Ionia, he set out for Greece. When come to Pergamus, he was much delighted with the temple of Esculapius, and after suggesting to the worshippers of that God what they should do to obtain favorable dreams, and curing many of their diseases, he proceeded to the land of Ilium, and whilst his mind was full of all the antiquity of the place, he visited the tombs of the Achaians. He had several conversations with the people on the subject of the war, and after offering many sacrifices, wherein not a drop of blood was shed, he ordered his companions to return to their ships, as he said he was resolved on passing the night at the tomb of Achilles. His companions (for he was now followed by the Dioscoridæ,† and Phædimi, and several others) tried all they could to divert him from his purpose, saying, that Achilles still shewed himself *terrific*, of which the natives were fully persuaded. To this, Apollonius said, but I know Achilles still loves conversation. When alive he was very fond of the Pylian Nestor, who always told him something useful. He used to call old Phenix his foster-father and companion, and give him other endearing appellations from his diverting him with a variety of pleasant stories. Even Priam, his mortal enemy,

* The Ephesians consecrated a statue to him under the title of Hercules *Alexicacus*, in commemoration of his having delivered them from the plague. LACTANTIUS.

† Dioscoridæ, and Phædimi—different names, I believe, of the *Cabiri*, who were also called Croybantes, Curetes, Idæi Dactyli, and Telchines.—The places in which their worship principally flourished, were Italy, Crete, Samothrace, and Troas.

See note at the end of the second book.

he held in a favorable light when he heard him speak; and during his secession from the army, in a conference which he had with Ulysses, he appeared so gracious, that the Ithacan looked on him more as an object of love than fear. His shield and helmet, and its terrible nodding plumes, must ever continue to menace the Trojans as long as he remembers what he suffered from them, and the fraud practised at his marriage.* As to myself, I hold no communion with the people of Ilium, I mean to talk to him with more pleasure than ever his friends did of old; and should he kill me, as you say, I shall have the honor of reposing with Memnon and Cycnus, nothing doubting but that Troy will bury me as she did Nestor. With these words, uttered partly in jest, and partly in seriousness, he proceeded alone to the tomb,† while his companions withdrew to their ship in the evening.

C H A P. XII.

APOLLONIUS returned next morning, when it was light, and immediately after asked where Antisthenes the Parian was? Antisthenes, who had been with him about seven days, appeared when called; to whom Apollonius said, have you any degree of connexion with Troy? Yes, much, said the Parian, for I am by family a Trojan. What, said Apollonius, of the family of Priam? Of the same, returned he, and I think it an honor to be descended from

* Achilles was killed by Paris in the temple, to which he had retired to celebrate his marriage with Polyxena.

† People used to resort thither every year, in order to offer up sacrifices in his honor, and a tradition was current, that his shade, dressed in armour, was accustomed to appear in a threatening posture, notwithstanding which, says Bayle, Apollonius attempted to speak to it.—It is related that miracles were wrought at his tomb.

it. Achilles then was right, said Apollonius, in desiring me not to have any thing to do with you. For when he was giving orders about a certain business relative to the Thessalians,* of which he seemed anxious, I asked whether I could do any thing to oblige him? Yes, you can, said he, make not the Parian youth acquainted with your wisdom, for the blood of Priam runs in his veins, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth. Antisthenes when he heard this, departed unwillingly.

CH A P. XIII.

AS soon as it was day, and the wind fair from land, the ship was ready to sail. Crouds flocked to the shore, all anxious to embark with Apollonius, notwithstanding the small size of the vessel. It was now autumn, a time of year when the sea is not much to be trusted. The people who supposed Apollonius had power over fire and water, and perils of every kind, all asked leave to go on board with him. When he found the numbers were more than the ship was able to contain, and happening at the same time to see another vessel at anchor near the tomb of Ajax, he cried out, let us embark in that vessel, for it is glorious to be saved with the multitude. After doubling the Trojan promontory, he bid the pilot steer for Æolia, situate overagainst Lesbos, and to make it by coasting near Methymna, for there it was Achilles told him Palamedes was buried, and there his statue was to be seen of the heighth of one cubit, representing a man far older than ever Palamedes was. As soon as the vessel touched this land, he went ashore, and said aloud, O ye men of Greece,

* After the oracle commanded the Greeks to celebrate the anniversary of Achilles every year, the Thessalians were the first who appointed the wearing crowns of amaranth, and from the sequel it appears they were the first to discontinue it.

let us shew our respect for this great man, from whom comes all knowledge, and let us treat him better than the Achaians did, by honouring him for the sake of virtue, who was so unjustly put to death. Saying this, they all leapt on shore, and Apollonius soon discovered the tomb of Palamedes and his statue buried near it, on the base of which were inscribed these words, "*To the divine Palamedes.*"—Whilst he staid here, he restored the statue to its place, (as I saw with my own eyes) and after raising round it a little chapel like those which are dedicated to Hecate by her worshippers, and which might be capable of containing ten guests, he offered up the following prayer, O Palamedes, forget the anger you had for the Greeks.* Grant them to multiply in numbers and wisdom. Accede this, O Palamedes! from you comes knowledge, and by you the muses and I live.

CHAP. XIV.

HE next put in at Lesbos, where he entered the shrine of that temple in which Orpheus of old used to deliver his oracles, which was a matter that gave great concern to Apollo. For when he found that he was no longer consulted at Grynium, or Claros, or even at Delphi, where his tripod stood, and that Orpheus (whose head,† by the

* Palamedes was a learned man, as well as a soldier, and according to some, completed the alphabet of Cadmus by the addition of four letters, during the Trojan war.

† Amongst the Sabians, says Arpe, in his rise and progress of the Talismanic Art, it was customary with them to sacrifice in honour of their demon a first-born male child, whose head they cut off and seasoned with salt and spices for the sake of preserving it; they then laid a plate of gold on the tongue, which being marked with the name of the demon, served them afterwards for an oracle to consult. On which, Arpe

bye had just come from Thrace) was the only person consulted, he thus addressed him, and said, "Cease interfering with my right and privilege, for know, I have too long endured your songs."

CHAP. XV.

WHILST our travellers were navigating the Eubæan sea, which, as Homer says,* is dangerous, and subject to storms, they found it smoother, and more calm than what they had reason to expect, considering the season of the year. This mild state of the weather gave them an opportunity of talking of the islands, (of which they sailed by many of high renown) and of ship-building, and of naval tactics in the very terms of seamen. Damis blamed this kind of conversation, which he frequently interrupted, and at last put an end to. When Apollonius found that Damis wished for the discussion of other subjects, he asked him why he interrupted the conversation, particularly as his objections did not seem to him to arise from any sea-sickness, with which he was affected, or from any other inconvenience he suffered: for you see, said he, how the sea is made subject to our ship, and aids it in its course. What is it then that gives you all this uneasiness? It is, said Damis, because we are wasting our time on subjects old and obsolete, when others of much greater consequence are within our reach? And what subject is that, said Apollonius, which you think preferable to all

Arpe exclaims, *Quô quid pestiferum magis, aut horrendum dictu est?*
Ita tamen Orphei caput, post mulierum facinus specum Lesbiam habitasse, et in terrâ excavatâ oracula fudisse, narrat Philostratus.

* Thro' the mid-seas he bid our navy steer,
And ju Eubœa shun the woes we fear.

ODYSSEY, POPE, b. iii.

others? You have conversed, Apollonius, said Damis, with Achilles, and have heard no doubt from him many things, of which we are ignorant; why not inform us of them, and give us the express form and countenance of the man; instead of which, the conversation is all about the passing islands, and ship-building. Well then, said Apollonius, as you desire it, I will relate every thing, provided I may not incur the censure of vanity or ostentation.

CH A P. XVI.

WHILST all were soliciting, and anxious to hear, Apollonius thus began, I obtained the honour of conversing with Achilles, not after the manner of Ulysses, by digging a trench, nor evoking his manes by the blood of lambs,* but I obtained it by the use of such prayers as are prescribed by the Indians in their religious ritual for the invocation of heroes. I said—"O Achilles,† many believe

* Thus, solemn rites, and holy vows we paid
To all the phantom-nations of the dead.
Then dy'd the sheep: a purple torrent flow'd,
And all the caverns smok'd with streaming blood.

ODYSSEY, POPE, b. xi.

† From this story of the appearance of Achilles, says bishop Parker, it is obvious to any man that reads Philostratus, that his whole design is to follow the train of the old heathen mythology; and that is the bottom of his folly, by his story to gain historical credit to the fables of the poets. So that it is a very true and just censure, which Ludovicus Vives has given of him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate Homer, so he has abundantly outlied him. For there is scarce any thing extraordinary reported in the whole history, in which he does not apparently design either to verify, or rectify some of that blind ballad-singer's tales; but especially in conjuring Achilles out of his tomb, and discoursing with him about the old stories that were told of the Trojan war. And yet after all, adds the bishop, few of Apollonius's miracles are

you dead, I am not of their opinion, nor is Pythagoras, to whom I am indebted for my wisdom—I intreat you may shew yourself as you are, that we may know the truth. You will gain much from my eyes, if I can use them as witnesses of your existence.” When I uttered these words, the earth around the tomb suffered a slight agitation: when lo! a youth arose from it about five cubits high, dressed in a Thessalian mantle. His appearance was not expressive of that character of pride and haughtiness given to it by some of the Greeks. He appeared grave, but his gravity was not unmixed with affability. His beauty has not, in my opinion, found one competent to describe it, though Homer has said much in praise of it, it is ineffable, and has, I think, rather been diminished by those who have spoken of it, than praised as it deserved. At first he appeared of the size above mentioned. Afterwards he increased in figure till he became more than double his original stature. When arrived at his greatest magnitude, I supposed him about twelve cubits high,* and his beauty still kept pace with his increasing height. His hair seemed as if uncut, as an offering ready for the Sperchius,† to whom it was devoted

are sufficiently vouched in his own history—even the one at present before us, which has no other testimony but of Apollonius himself, who stubbornly refused to have any companion, or witness of the fact: beside many other absurdities in the story itself; as his rising out of the tomb five foot long, and then swelling to twice the length: his being forced to vanish away at cock-crowing, and the nymphs constantly visiting him.

* Lycophron says, Achilles was nine cubits high, and Quintus Calaber, that his statue was equal to that of a giant.

† Sperchius, a river of Thessaly. Peleus vowed to the God of this river, the hair of his son Achilles, if he ever returned safe from the Trojan war.

Sperchius; whose waves in mazy errors lost
 Delightful roll along my native coast;
 To whom my father vow'd at my return
 Those locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn. HOMER, b. xxiii.

by his father at the time when his cheeks were clothed with their first down. He told me he was fortunate in meeting with such a man as myself. The Thessalians, said he, have long discontinued paying me their accustomed offerings to the dead, but as yet I have shewn them no mark of my displeasure. I have not wished it, for were I angry, their destruction would be more certain than that of the Greeks, who of old inhabited this country. As their friend, I advise them not to offer any insult to ceremonies, which have been established by law, nor to shew themselves in a light worse than the Trojans, who, notwithstanding the numbers of them destroyed by my valour, never cease offering sacrifice to me in public, and presenting their first fruits in due season, and still soliciting by stated supplication and prayer, a reconciliation, which I will never grant. The perjuries, of which they were guilty, on my account, shall never suffer Ilium to recover its ancient splendour, nor rise to that acmè of glory, to which other fallen cities have risen; but they shall inhabit it in no better condition than if taken the day before. That I may not be induced to act thus with the Thessalians, I request you to go as ambassador to their common council, and treat of what I have mentioned. To this I acceded from a conviction of my embassy being to prevent their destruction. But I have a request to make you, Achilles, said I: I know it, replied he, you are now going to make some inquiry about what passed at Troy: You have therefore my full permission to propose five questions such as you wish, and the fates allow. I first asked if he had obtained the rites of sepulture according to the account given by the poets? I lie, replied he, in the way most agreeable to Patrocles and myself. From our youth we lived in the truest harmony, and now the same golden urn contains our ashes as if still one. With respect to the tears, said to have been shed by the Muses

and Nereids at my tomb, I can tell you, the former were not present on the occasion,* but the latter were, who still continue their lamentations. I asked next whether Polyxena was sacrificed on his account.† She died, replied he, on my tomb, and was not slain by the Greeks. She approached my tomb of her own accord, and from the desire of paying all honour, and respect, to our mutual love, fell on a drawn sword. My third question was, whether Helen was carried to Troy, or whether that was a fiction of Homer's? On this subject, said Achilles, we were long kept in the dark, yet we continued sending ambassadors to the Trojans, and fighting battles for her sake, as if she had been in Troy. But the truth is, she was then in Egypt, living in the house of Proteus, to which she had been conveyed by Paris.‡ After we came to the knowledge of this, we, regardless of her, fought to take Troy, and to return home not with disgrace. I then came to my fourth question, and said, I was astonished

* As the people of Ilium were held to be barbarians by the Greeks, Philostratus supposes that the muses kept as far distant as they could on the occasion; however, it appears from the following verses of Pindar, that they were present—

Tho' death had clos'd the hero's* eyes,
Prais'd by the Muse his virtues rise;
For round his pile, his silent tomb,
The Heliconian virgins come:
With down-cast eyes, they weep, they groan,
And pour forth memorable moan, &c.

ISTHM. Od. 8.

† The common opinion was, that after Troy was taken, the Greeks sacrificed Polyxena on his tomb, as his ghost requested.

‡ This detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides. See HERODOTUS—Euterpe.

* Achilles.

how Greece could in one age produce so many great men as Homer says were at Troy at the same time. To this, Achilles said, the barbarians were not inferior to us in that respect, so greatly then did the earth flourish with valiant men. My fifth question was, how it came to pass, that Homer was not acquainted with Palamedes, or if he was, how it happened he did not mention him? If Palamedes was not at Troy, no such place as Troy ever existed. Because this great man, renowned for his wisdom and military knowledge, was put to death to gratify the hatred of Ulysses, Homer makes no mention of him in his poems, lest he should cast a reproach on the character of that crafty son of Laertes. The recollection of Palamedes brought tears into the eyes of Achilles, who lamented him as a man distinguished for beauty, and great valour, though young, as one who excelled most other men in modesty, and love of learning. But do you, Apollonius, (for you know a necessary bond of amity always subsists among the wise) take care of his sepulchre, and restore his statue, which lies prostrate on the ground. You will find it in Æolis, which is over against Methymna in Lesbos. After saying these things, with others relative to the Parian youth, he vanished in a flash of lightning just at the time the cock crew.* This is all that passed on board the ship.

* ————The morning cock crew loud,
And at the sound, it shrunk in haste away,
And vanish'd from our sight.—

“It faded with the crowing of the cock.”—

SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*.

This is a very ancient superstition, says Stevens, for Philostratus, giving an account of the apparition of Achilles's shade to Apollonius, adds, that it vanished with a little glimmer as soon as the cock crow'd.

Notes on Shakespeare.

Mrs.

CHAP. XVII.

APOLLONIUS entered the Piræus at the time of the celebration of the mysteries, when Athens is most crowded with people from all parts of Greece.* The moment he landed, he proceeded as fast as he could to the city, where, when he arrived, he found many philosophers on the point of descending to the Piræus. Some of them were naked, and exposed to the sun's rays (which are quite hot and sultry at Athens during the autumnal season) some were reading books, which they had in their hands—others declaiming, and others disputing. All acknowledged Apollonius as he approached, and returned with him amidst many greetings of joy. Ten young men run to meet him, who with hands out stretched to the Acropolis, cried out, we swear by Minerva, who presidest in

Mrs. Montague, without being acquainted with the passage in the text, supposed the vanishing of the ghost in Hamlet, as another circumstance of the established superstition of the north. See her very ingenious essay on the writings, and genius of Shakespear.—Propertius has a passage in the 8th elegy of his 4th book, which mentions the disappearing of all spectres at day-break,—

Noctē vagæ ferimur. Nox clausa liberat umbras,

Errat, & abjectâ Cerberus ipse serâ.

Luce jubent leges Lethæa ad stagna reverti:

Nos vehimur: victum nauta recenset onus.

Claudian says, of the shade of Theodosius.,

Dixit, et afflatus vicino sole refugit.

* *The lesser mysteries* are here to be understood, which were celebrated in honour of Proserpine at Agræ, a place near the river Ilissus in the month Anthesterion, which corresponded with the Roman November. *The greater* were celebrated in honour of Ceres at Eleusis in the month Boedromion, the Roman August, or September.

that place, that we were going down to the Piræus with the intention of going over to Ionia. Apollonius received them with kindness, and said, he congratulated them on their love for philosophy.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE day of his arrival was that of the Epidaurian festival,* on which the Athenians had a custom, when the usual acclamations and sacrifices were over, of having a new initiation, in which the lesser mysteries were repeated. This initiation was established in favour of Esculapius, who was admitted to the honours of it, on account of coming from Epidaurus after the great mysteries were finished. As soon as Apollonius appeared, the people, regardless of the religious rites in which they were engaged, crowded to see him, more anxious about him, than being initiated themselves. Apollonius said, he would speak to them at a more convenient time, and desired them to mind their holy rites, as he wished to be initiated himself. But the Hierophant† would not admit him to that honour, at the same time saying, he was not permitted by the laws to initiate an inchanter;‡ or reveal the Eleusinian mysteries to a man not pure in things touching religion. Apollonius, without being affected by this observation, said, you

* The eighth day of the mysteries was called the day of the Epidaurians, because Æsculapius coming from Epidaurus to Athens, and desiring to be initiated, the lesser mysteries were repeated. Hence it became customary to celebrate them a second time on this day, and to initiate those who had not already enjoyed the privilege.

† The chief person that attended at the initiation was called *ἱεροφάντης*, a revealer of holy things.

‡ Meursius says, all barbarians, murderers, magicians, mountebanks, and impious persons, were excluded from admission.

have not taken notice of one of the severest accusations that might be urged against me, which is, that of my knowing more of the initiation than you do yourself; and yet, notwithstanding my superior knowledge, I am come to you for admission, as if you were wiser. All present praised him for this firm and pertinent answer. As soon as the Hierophant was sensible that the rejection of Apollonius was not pleasing to the people, he changed his language, and said, Accept, I pray thee, the initiation, as I think you are wise. Then Apollonius said, I will take my own time for being initiated, when the ceremony shall be in other hands. Saying this, he named the very Hierophant, who was to succeed the present one, and preside at the ceremony, which literally took place about four years after.

CHAP. XIX.

OF the discourses which Apollonius maintained whilst at Athens, Damis says, he has not committed them all to writing, but only such of them as he thought necessary, and were on subjects of importance. When he perceived the people of Athens were much given to religious worship, he made sacrifices the subject of his discourse, wherein he specified the kind of offering best suited to each God, and the precise hour of day* and night when they should sacrifice, or pray, or offer libations. And there is still extant a treatise of his, in which these things are explained in his native tongue.† Of these matters he discoursed first, because he thought such topics becoming

* This is agreeable to the rule of Pythagoras, who said that Gods and heroes were not to be worshipped with equal honours, for that the Gods were always to be worshipped, and heroes only from noon.

† Cappadocian-Tyana was in Cappadocia.

their wisdom and his own; and next, to let them see how improperly and ignorantly he had been treated by the Hierophant: for who could believe him unsound in things touching the Gods, who was capable of teaching how each of them should be worshipped.

CHAP. XX.

WHEN he was treating of the best mode of offering libations, there happened to be present a young man who was very effeminate, and so proverbially luxurious, as fit to be made the subject of one of those songs that are used to be sung in the serving up of great feasts.* He was a native of Corcyra, and descended from Alcinous the Phœacian, who entertained Ulysses so well of old. Libations being the subject of the discourse, Apollonius gave it as his opinion, that men should not drink out of the cup used in that ceremony, but should keep it pure and untouched for the Gods. But when he said that the cup ought to have ears, and that the wine should be poured out of the side where the ears are placed,† as being that part which men sel-

* *μαζονομιον ασμα*—Mazonomum was a large dish, containing various kinds of meat, which was handed about (to the sound of music, it may be supposed) that each of the guests might take what he chose. Any uncommon dish, says Macrobius, was introduced to the sound of the flute. Carving at table was performed to the sound of music. In Trimalchio's feast, in Petronius, every thing was served to some tune or other.

† This mode of offering libations to the Gods is supposed by some to refer to the 59th Symbol of Pythagoras, which says, "Make the libations to the Gods by the ear;" signifying, says Porphyry, that we ought to worship and celebrate the Gods with music, for that passeth in at the ears. However, this way of explaining the symbol, though adopted by Dacier, is considered by Olearius as inept, and little to the purpose—who thinks it only relates to the observing of a greater reverence in the worship of the Gods.

domest applied to the mouth, the youth burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. Whereupon Apollonius, looking stedfastly upon him, said, It is not you whom I consider as offering me this insult, but the demon within you: it is he who makes you in ignorance commit this folly. Till this moment the youth knew not he was possessed by a demon,* though he laughed and cried in turns, without any apparent cause, and even sung and talked to himself. Many thought all this brought on by intemperance in his youth; but the fact was, he was impelled by a demon, and committed all the wild extravagancies practised by people in that situation. As soon as Apollonius fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into all those angry horrid expressions used by people on the rack, and then swore he would depart out of the youth, and never again

* In this instance Apollonius must have been more than a conjurer, could he have known what the pretended proprietor of the demon himself did not know. The ignorance of the youth on the occasion is, in my opinion, a full confutation of the marvellous part taken by Apollonius, and is a further proof, among many others, of his conceit and presumption, if he attempted to impose on the spectators in the manner mentioned by Philostratus.

From Origen and the other fathers it appears, that the power of casting out devils was considered as an art grounded on certain rules, which were taught and delivered in books, and was common both to Jews and Gentiles, who by their tricks and false miracles contrived to delude the credulous multitude, in order to acquire gain or power to themselves, and to keep their people firm to their several religions, in opposition to the Christian.

There is a story in Josephus of Eleazar casting out devils in the presence of Vespasian, on which I believe the one before us is founded.—*Antiquities of the Jews*, b. viii.

Here Du Pin says, “ Il n’y a rien à tout cela de merveilleux que la statuë qui tomba dans le moment; mais qui nous peut assurer que ce ne soit pas une invention de Philostrate, ou de Damis, ou un artifice d’Apollone, qui avoit des gens apostiz pour jeter à bas la statuë dans le moment qu’il avoit commandé au demon d’y entrer.

enter another. Apollonius rebuked him, as masters do their cunning, saucy, insolent slaves, and commanded him to come out of the youth, and in so doing to give a visible sign of his departure. Immediately the demon cried out, I will make that statue tumble, to which he pointed, standing in a royal portico, where the transaction happened. But who is able to describe the noise and tumult, and clapping of hands with joy, when they saw the statue first begin to shake, then totter, and then tumble down? The young man rubbed his eyes like one awoke from a deep sleep, and turning them to the sun's light, seemed quite shocked at the idea of standing so conspicuous and exposed to all beholders. He no longer retained the wild disturbed look of intemperance, but returned to his right mind, as if recovered by the use of medicine alone. Then laying aside his soft garments and all his fashionable Sybaritic airs,* he adapted the homely simplicity and plain garb of a philosopher, and lived after the rules of Apollonius.

CHAP. XXI.

IT is said Apollonius rebuked the Athenians for the manner in which they celebrated the feasts of Bacchus which take place in the month Anthesterion. He formed the idea of going to the theatre to hear the monodies and melodies, and the songs of the chorus, and the notes with which they were sung in both tragedy and comedy. But when he understood that the performance was chiefly composed of dancing, and of dancing to the effeminate sound of the flute, and that with the epic and divine verses of Orpheus were mixed the representations of the heroes,

* Sybaris, a town in Lucania, on the bay of Tarentum, whose inhabitants became so effeminate that the word *Sybarite* was proverbial to denote a man devoted to pleasure.

nymphs, and Bacchantes, he was astonished, and cried out, Cease, I pray you, insulting the ears of Salamis, and the many brave men who formerly fell for their country. If your dancing was after the manner of the Spartans, I would exclaim, Well done, soldiers; you are making ready for battle: I shall make one in your dance. But seeing it is effeminate, and of the most voluptuous tendency, what am I to say of your trophies? for they will stand, not as monuments of shame to the Medes and Persians, but to yourselves, in case you become degenerate and inferior to those valiant men who erected them? But whence these garments, dyed in saffron and purple? It was not in such the borough Acharna was dressed; nor the tribe of Colonos rode in battle. But why do I say this? A woman* from Caria commanded a ship, and sailed with Xerxes against you. She wore the dress and armour of a man, and had nothing womanish in her appearance. But you are now more effeminate than the women of Xerxes; you are set in array against yourselves, old and young, and even the children. The very people who formerly swore in the temple of Agraulos to fight and die for their country, will now, perhaps, swear to perform the parts of Bacchanalians, and arm themselves with a thyrsus in its defence, and will lay aside their helmets, and disguise themselves in the shameful masks of women. Besides, I hear of your representing the winds, and in their characters swelling the sails of ships, and raising them aloft in the air. These winds you ought to respect as your best allies, for having blown of old so much in your favour. Yet Boreas, who is your kinsman, and more masculine than the other winds, should not be represented as a woman, for he never would have fallen in love with Orithyia had he seen her in such unbecoming characters.

* Artemisia.

CHAP. XXII.

WHILST he staid at Athens, the following abuse was corrected by him. The people, he observed, ran in crouds to the theatre on the Acropolis, to see the combats of gladiators.* Their passion for such sports was greater at Athens than it is at this day at Corinth. Adulterers, fornicators, house-breakers, cut-purses, men-stealers, and others of the same vile description, were bought at high prices, and armed and forced to fight with each other. This barbarous custom was most severely censured by Apollonius. He refused going to their assembly when invited, saying, the place was impure and polluted with blood. To this he alluded in an epistle, wherein he expressed his surprise that the Goddess Minerva had not abandoned her citadel, where so much blood was spilt; for, added he, if you go on in this manner, you will slay in the Grand Panathenœan Procession, not hecatombs of oxen, but of men. And can you, Bacchus, vouchsafe to enter the theatre where so much blood is shed? and in the very place where the wise Athenians offer you their libations? Fie, Bacchus, depart. Citheron is much purer than such a theatre. These are the things which chiefly claimed his attention as a philosopher, whilst he sojourned at Athens.

CHAP. XXIII.

DEPARTING from Athens, he went in obedience to the commands of Achilles on his embassy to the Thessa-

* The first shew of gladiators exhibited at Rome, was in the year of the city 490. I have not been able to learn at what time they were first

lians, who happened at that time to be assembled at Thermopylæ, fulfilling their duty at the Amphictyonic Council. Fearful of the consequences which might ensue from neglecting the message communicated to them, they immediately consented to a full re-establishment of all necessary rites at his tomb. During his stay here, he almost surrounded the tomb of Leonidas with a chapel, out of esteem for his memory. When they were going to the hill where it is said the Lacedæmonians fell overwhelmed with arrows, he heard his friends disputing about what ground they considered the highest in Greece (at this time mount Cæta was full in their view) Apollonius ascending the hill, cried out, *This is the highest ground*. The men who died here in defence of liberty have made it equal to mount Cæta, and raised it above many Olympuses. I love the men, but above all, Magistias, the Acarnanian, who, foreknowing what they were to suffer, wished to share with them their fate—fearing not death, but fearing it might not be permitted him to die with them.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE visited all the temples of Greece, the Dodonean,* the Pythian, and the temple at Abæ. He entered the cave of Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and ascended the top of Helicon, on which was erected the temple of the Muses. In visiting and reforming the temples, he was attended by the priests and his familiar friends. In all places stood exposed to public view cisterns of his dis-

first introduced into Greece, or for what purpose. Barbarous and bloody as the custom was, it was not abolished till the time of Constantine. Thanks to the mild spirit of Christianity for the abolition.

* The oracles of Dodona and Delphi are well known. Abæ is a town of Phocis, famous for an oracle of Apollo.

courses,* out of which all who were thirsty might drink. When the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games was at hand, he received an invitation from the Eleans to attend. On this occasion Apollonius said, Methinks, ye men of Elis, you tarnish the glory of your games, by the necessity under which you find yourselves of sending such like invitations. Once when he was at the Isthmus and heard the sea roaring round Lachæum, he cried out, "This neck of land shall, or rather shall not be cut through." These words shewed he had a fore-knowledge of the attempt made seven years after by the emperor Nero. This prince left his seat of empire, and became subject to the voice of the common cryer at the Olympic and Pythian Games. Victories he gained at the Isthmian Games; but what were they? Victories over harpers and heralds. Others he won at the Olympic; but what were they? Victories over performers in tragedy. When at Corinth, it is said, he formed the design of cutting through the Isthmus, in order to make it pervious for his shipping. By joining the Adriatic to the Ægean sea, he thought to save the passage round Cape Malea. But how did the prophecy of Apollonius turn out? The cut was begun from Lechæum, and by immense labour was carried about four stadias. At last Nero gave it up, by the advice of some Egyptians,† who, after taking the level of the two

* It is known that the ancients made use of large vessels in their entertainments, called *crateres*, from which wine was drawn to distribute to the guests. I have used *cistern* in my translation, as a kind of figurative expression, to give some specimen of what Photius calls an elegance peculiar to Philostratus, from its being, I suppose, not unlike what our Saviour says in St. John's Gospel—"But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him *a well of water* springing up into everlasting life."

† In Achaia, Nero attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus, and encouraged the guards, in a speech which he made to them, to begin

seas, gave it as their opinion that Ægina would be drowned by the overflow of waters which would rush from Lechæum. Others said the work was stopped from the apprehensions of an insurrection. All which exactly corresponded with what Apollonius said, "The Isthmus shall, or shall not be cut through."

CHAP. XXV.

AT this time Demetrius, the philosopher, happened to be in Corinth, a man who fully comprehended the whole force of the Cynic philosophy, and who is mentioned with great respect by Favonius in his orations. Demetrius* felt the same zeal in favour of the wisdom of Apollonius as Antisthenes did for that of Socrates, which he gave as his reason for becoming one of his followers, and for recommending to his notice the most esteemed of his friends. Of this number was Menippus, a young Lycian, about twenty-five years of age, who was intelligent and handsome, with the open manly air of an Athletæ. It was said a rich woman, that was a foreigner, beautiful and delicate in her appearance, had fallen in love with him, of

begin the work: and upon a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders.

SUETONIUS.

* Demetrius, a cynic philosopher, whom the Emperor Caligula wished to gain in his interest by a large present; but Demetrius refused it with indignation, and said, if Caligula wishes to bribe me, let him send me his crown. Vespasian was displeased with his insolence, and banished him to an island. The Cynic derided the punishment, and bitterly inveighed against the Emperor. He died when very far advanced in years, and Seneca observes, *that* "Nature brought him forth, to shew to mankind that an exalted genius can live securely, without being corrupted by the vice of the surrounding world."

LEMPRIERE.

which nothing was real, all imaginary. As the story goes, a figure met him, when alone on the road to Cenchrea, which had the look of a woman, who took him by the hand, and avowed a tender passion for him. She said, she was a Phenician, but at present dwelt in one of the suburbs of Corinth, which she named, where, added she, if you come, you shall hear me sing, and shall drink such wine as you never drank of before. You shall have no hindrance in your amours from a rival, and with a man of honour I shall live honourably. The youth, overcome by what he heard (for though he loved philosophy much, he loved Venus more) visited her in the evening, and continued afterwards to visit her as his mistress, without the slightest suspicion of her being a spectre. But Apollonius looking on Menippus as a statuary would do, delineated him fully in his own mind, which, when done, he said, You who are beautiful, and courted by beautiful women, know this, that "you cherish a serpent, and a serpent cherishes you;" at which Menippus being amazed, Apollonius continued, You love a woman whom you can never make your wife. Do you think yourself loved by her, said Apollonius? I think I am, said the youth. And do you propose marrying her, said he? I do, returned the other, for that will be the completion of all my happiness. For what day, said Apollonius, are the nuptials fixed? Perhaps for to-morrow, said the youth, as all things are prepared, and as we say, *the iron hot*. Apollonius, who had marked the precise time of the wedding feast, entered along with the other guests, and instantly asked, Where is she who is the cause of this banqueting? Here at hand, replied Menippus, who rose blushing. Apollonius continued, This gold and silver, with all the other rich ornaments of this apartment, whose are they? The bride's, said he; for what fortune I have consists in this cloak I wear, which he shewed. Then, continued Apollonius, have you ever seen the gardens of Tantalus, which are,

and are not? We have seen them, said they, in Homer; for we have not yet descended to the infernal regions. As are the gardens in Homer, so is all you see here—all shew, and no reality. And that you may know the truth of what I say, your intended wife is one of the Empusæ, who pass under the names of Lamiaë and Larvæ. They are little affected by the passion of love, and are fond of nothing but flesh, and that human; for by their attentions they attract all whom they wish to devour. Take care, Sir, of what you say, said she, and seeming much disconcerted at what she heard, ran out into many invectives against the whole race of philosophers, as being much given up to vain and impertinent trifling. But, as Apollonius said, every thing vanished into air; the gold and silver vessels, cup-bearers, and cooks, and the whole domestic apparatus. Whereupon the phantom appearing as if in tears, begged not to be tormented,* nor forced to make a confession. But Apollonius was peremptory, and said she should not stir till she confessed what she was. She then owned herself to be an Empusa, who had pampered Menippus with rich dainties, for the express purpose of devouring him; adding, that it was her custom to feed on young and beautiful bodies, for the sake of the pure blood in them. I have been necessarily induced to mention this transaction, as it was one of the most celebrated perform-

* This is the only instance in which the very words of scripture are used. See the Gospel of St. Luke, chap. viii. ver. 28. where a Demoniac is cured by our blessed Saviour. But when we compare the two accounts, the sober, artless narrative of the one, contrasted with the nonsensical stuff of the other, the difference is most striking. I agree with the learned author of the *Criterion* in thinking that such a similitude of expression could scarcely arise from mere chance; and yet I cannot help thinking, that if Philostratus had been well acquainted with the history of Christ, and had intended making his hero his counterpart, he might have been more successful in his attempt.—*καταναίξεν* is the common Greek word that signifies to torment.

ed by Apollonius,* and as it happened in the centre of Greece, many were acquainted with it. Yet it was known only in a general way of Apollonius having surprised a Lamia at Corinth, but the particulars of its being done in favour of Menippus, &c. was till then unknown. The account I have given of it is taken from Damis, and the writings he left behind him.†

CHAP. XXVI.

IT was about this time he had a dispute with one Bassus, a Corinthian, who not only seemed, but was believed to be a parricide. He was a fellow who made false pretences to philosophy, and had a most abusive tongue, which Apollonius reprimanded partly by letter and partly by word. There is no reason to doubt the truth of what he has written of this parricide; for it is not likely that a man such as Apollonius was, should have deigned to rebuke so vile a fellow, and in doing it to utter a falsehood.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE account given of what Apollonius did at Olympia is as follows: On his arrival, ambassadors waited on him from Lacedæmon, requesting him to pay them a visit. They had nothing like old Sparta in their appearance, and were more effeminate than what could have been sup-

* If this was one of the most celebrated of Apollonius's performances, what are we to think of the rest—and, above all, what are we to think of the simplicity, or rather fatuity of Damis, who, after such a specimen of fantastic buffoonery, could have followed him as a man possessed of more than human powers?

† *Le conte de Beelphegor et celui-ci sont de même genre.*

posed ; in fact they looked as if they had breathed all their lives the air of Sybaris. As soon as he beheld their smooth limbs, and hair dropping with odours, their beardless faces and soft garments, he wrote thus to the Ephori: " Let a proclamation issue, forbidding the use of pitch in the baths, and all other depilatory preparations, and let the ancient mode of living be re-established; which, if done, it might be expected the old Palestra would revive, and the confederations, and the societies of friendship, and Lacedæmon look like itself. When he was informed that the Ephori had done what he desired, he wrote them another letter, more concise than their ancient Scytala.—Here it is.

"Apollonius to the Ephori greeting."

" It is the part of men to err, but of ingenuous men to acknowledge it."

CH A P. XXVIII.

ONCE as he was observing the famous statue of Olympia, he said, Hail, propitious Jove, for your goodness reaches to, and is imparted to all mankind. Afterwards he noticed the brazen statue of Milo,* and explained its particular form and attitude. This statue is represented standing on a discus, with the feet united, holding in the left hand a pomegranate ; the fingers of the right hand are stretched out, and joined close together. The stories current in Olympia and Arcadia of Milo were, that he was a wrestler of invincible strength, not to be moved out of the

* One cause of his paying so much attention to the statue of Milo was, his being a disciple of Pythagoras, who had the merit of saving his master's life by means of his superior strength. His statue was made by Dameas, the Crotonian, and was placed in Olympia for having been six times victorious in wrestling in the Olympic Games.

position in which he placed himself. The tenacity of his fingers was marked by the manner in which he held the pomegranate; and the impossibility of separating them by external force was marked by their juxta-position. The fillet round his head was considered as a symbol of modesty. These circumstances, Apollonius said, were designed in wisdom, but were more ingeniously designed than what were true. Here is the true signification of Milo and his statue. The people of Crotona made him the priest of Juno; hence the propriety of his wearing a mitre or fillet in that sacred character. The pomegranate* is the only plant which is sacred to Juno. From the discus under his feet we understand, that Milo, being the priest of Juno, and standing on a small buckler, used from it to offer his supplications to her; the same is signified by the holding out of the right hand. The inseparable position of the fingers shews clearly the excellence of ancient sculpture.

CHAP. XXIX.

AFTER seeing whatever is generally done at Elis, he praised the Eleans for the order and decency which were every where conspicuous. They were indeed no less anxious than the Athletæ themselves to have their conduct approved by the public; and this anxiety made them take

* Pausanias says, "The particulars respecting the pomegranate, as they belong to an arcane discourse, I shall pass by in silence." This *mysterium arcanum* is thus explained by Olearius:

Nempe in φυσικῇ τεθεολογημένη Juno est principium rerum naturalium passivum, ut activum Jupiter, à quo imprægnata Juno Semina rerum divino utero concipit. Quorum cum innumera sit multitudo, atque varietas, ista Junonis, tot seminibus foetæ, fæcunditas malo Punico Symbolicè fuit designata, in quo maxima inter omnia poma seminum copia.

particular pains to avoid every fault, either voluntary or involuntary. When he was asked by his companions what he thought of the people of Elis in respect to the order established at the games, he said, Whether they are entitled to the appellation of *wise* I know not; but I am sure they are to that of *sophists*.

CHAP. XXX.

HOW he inveighed against authors who vainly thought they excelled in writing, and how illiterate he considered all who attempted to discuss subjects superior to their abilities, may be collected from what follows. A young arrogant philosopher met him in the temple, who thus addressed him: Pray favour me with your company to-morrow, for I have something to recite. Apollonius asked what it was. An oration, replied he, which I have composed in praise of Jupiter, and with these words immediately shewed the composition he had concealed under his cloak, piquing himself, as it were, on the size of his volume. And what, said Apollonius, do you praise in Jupiter? or is it the Jupiter of Olympia you commend, and say of him that there is nothing like him in the whole world! All this I have done, said he, and much besides; for I say, that to Jove we are indebted for the hours, and for whatever is on the earth, and under the earth; for the winds that blow, and the stars of heaven. To me, said Apollonius, you appear an excellent panegyrist. So I think myself, said he; for I have written also in praise of the gout, and of blindness and deafness. If, said Apollonius, you have a passion for praising things of this nature, I suppose dropsies and catarrhs will not be strangers to your panegyric? And yet, methinks, you would gain more reputation by attending the dead to their graves, and there reciting the praises of the disorders of which each died.

Such a mark of affectionate attention would soothe the grief of their fathers, sons, and near relations. When Apollonius perceived that the youth's vanity was somewhat humbled by what he said, he continued, Young author, do you think a man will praise better what he knows, than what he does not? What he knows, most certainly; for how can he praise what he is ignorant of? Pray, said Apollonius, have you ever written any thing in praise of your father? It was my wish, said he, to do so; but when I found he excelled all my acquaintances in generosity, goodness, economy, and wisdom, I declined it, lest he might have been dishonoured by unbecoming commendation. When Apollonius heard this, he was greatly incensed (being sometimes subject to such passions, whenever he had to deal with absurd people) and cried out, Wretch, have you, who thought yourself not capable of praising your father, whom you know as well as yourself, as he deserved, have you, I say, thought it a light matter to praise the Father of Gods and men, without having either any fear of him whom you praised, or any apprehension of being engaged in a work surpassing all human ability?

CHAP. XXXI.

WHILST Apollonius staid at Olympia, his conversation turned chiefly on the topics most useful to mankind; namely, fortitude, wisdom, temperance, and, in short, all the virtues. On these subjects he discoursed in the porch of the temple, making his hearers admire not only the excellence of his ideas, but the eloquence with which he uttered them. The Lacedæmonians ran to him in crouds, and pronounced him, in the presence of Jupiter, their guest, the father and director of the young, and the ornament of the old. A Corinthian happening to be present, asked

with some degree of pique, if they intended paying him the accustomed honours of a Theophany? * Then, swearing by Castor and Pollux, they cried out, Every thing was ready for the occasion. But Apollonius would not suffer it, fearing thereby to create envyings and jealousies. Afterwards passing mount Taygetus, and entering the confines of Lacedæmon, he found the inhabitants all busy about their own affairs, and zealous in the observance of the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. This made him think it would not be unpleasant to discourse with their magistrates on whatever subjects they might wish to discuss. The first question they asked him on his arrival was, In what manner the Gods were to be worshipped? † He answered, as masters. Then how heroes? and he said as fathers. And afterwards they asked how men were to be honoured? and he said, the question was not fit for Sparta to ask. They then inquired what he thought of their laws; to which he replied, Laws are excellent masters; and masters will be applauded in proportion to the diligence and industry of their scholars. Lastly, when they asked him what advice he would give on the subject of fortitude, To use it, if you have it, was his answer

CHAP. XXXII.

DURING his stay here, a young Lacedæmonian happened to be accused of transgressing the laws and customs of his country, who was of the family of Callicratidas, that

* Theophany, Θεοφανία, the appearance of God, was a festival observed by the Delphians on the day that Apollo first manifested himself to them.

† “We must in worship prefer Gods before Demons,” says Pythagoras, “and heroes before men.”

commanded the fleet at Arginusæ.* This youth sailed as far as Carthage and Sicily in vessels of his own construction, and was so much devoted to naval affairs as to forget those of the republic. When Apollonius learnt he was to be tried on the above charge, he thought it would be hard to desert him on such an occasion. In consequence of this, he waited on him to inquire the cause of his present embarrassment. A suit, said the youth, is publicly instituted against me for my love of navigation, and for neglecting the affairs of the republic. Pray, said Apollonius, what were your father and grandfather; were they nautical men? No, returned the youth, not at all; they were gymnasiarchs, and ephori, and all guardians of the laws. Among my ancestors I number Callicratidas, who commanded the fleet. Do you allude to him who fought at Arginusæ? The same, said he, who died in the command. Has not the death of such an ancestor, said Apollonius, given you an aversion to the sea? No, said he; my employment at sea is not that of fighting. And can you, said Apollonius, name a race of men more miserable than that of merchants and mariners, roaming from sea to sea, seeking the best markets, living with factors and brokers, who lend out their money at unconscionable interest, wherever the speediest returns of gain are expected. When all this is done, if every thing prospers as they wish, they cry out, their ship has made a good voyage, and boast of never having lost a cargo either with or without their leave. But on the other hand, if their gains prove insufficient for the discharge of their debts, what do they do? They step into their long-boat, run their ship aground among the rocks, of which they throw the fault on the

* Three small islands near the continent, between Mitylene and Methymna, where the Lacedæmonian fleet was conquered by Conon, the Athenian.

irresistible will of heaven, whilst the property of others goes to the bottom without the least regret. But though the lives of seafaring men be not exactly such as we have described them, yet for Spartans, sprung from Spartans, whose ancestors lived in the midst of Sparta—for them, I say, to languish in the hold of a ship, without any recollection of either Lycurgus or Iphitus, attentive only to bales of goods and nautical concerns, how ignominious. If nothing else could convince them of their state of degradation, why not call to mind, that whilst Sparta was confined solely to her landed possessions, her glory rose to the skies; and when she became a naval power, her glory faded, and was blotted out from both land and sea. The young man, deeply affected by this discourse, held down his head, wept bitterly when he became sensible of his own degeneracy, and quitted the sea, where he had spent most part of his life. As soon as Apollonius found that the youth had come to his right mind, and gave the preference to the landed interest, he introduced him to the notice of the ephori, and obtained his acquittal and pardon.

CHAP XXXIII.

ANOTHER instance occurred of the propriety of his conduct at Lacedæmon. The citizens received a letter from the Emperor Claudius, animadverting on the improper use they made of their liberty. This letter was written in consequence of some accusations which had been sent to the Emperor from the Proconsul of Greece. The Lacedæmonians, at a loss what to do, debated amongst themselves whether they should deprecate the wrath of Cæsar, or send back a lofty answer. On this occasion they consulted Apollonius, who, when he found they were divided in opinion, came forward, and thus briefly address-

ed them: "Palamedes invented letters, to the end* men might know, not only what to write, but also what not to write." In this way he dissuaded the Lacedæmonians from shewing either too much audacity, or too much timidity in their reply.

CH A P. XXXIV.

APOLLONIUS staid some time at Sparta after the Olympic games; but as soon as the winter was over he proceeded in the spring to Malea, with the design of passing over to Rome. Whilst he was thinking of this journey, he had the following dream, in which he thought he saw a woman, tall of stature and venerable in years, who embraced him, and requested him to visit her before he went to Italy. She said she was the nurse of Jupiter, and had on a garland, adorned with whatever sea or land produces. After considering the meaning of this dream, he judged it proper to go into Crete, an island called the Nurse of Jupiter, because he was there educated; at the same time some other island might be possibly indicated by the garland. As many vessels happened to be stationed at Malea ready to put to sea, and all bound for Crete, he embarked in one which he supposed would be sufficient

* Blest be his shade in endless realms of light,
 Who bade the Alphabet dispel our night;
 Those wond'rous symbols that can still retain
 The phantom forms that pass along the brain,
 O'er unsubstantial thought hold strong controul,
 And fix the essence of the immortal soul.
 Man unreluctant meets the general doom,
 His mind embalm'd, defies th' o'erwhelming tomb,
 Lives in fresh vigour thro' succeeding years,
 Nor yields its powers whilst nature guides the spheres.

The Press.

for his whole community,* which consisted of his companions and their domestics, of whom he left not one behind. Sailing by the coast of Cydonia, he put in at Gnossus, where his companions expressed a desire of visiting the famous labyrinth in the neighbourhood, said to have been of old the habitation of the Minotaur. He allowed them to gratify their curiosity, but declined going himself, from the abhorrence he ever entertained of the injustice of Minos. Meanwhile he proceeded to Gortyna to visit Ida, whose summit he ascended, and examined all the sacred monuments of the place. He next visited the temple of Lebene, which is dedicated to Æsculapius; and as all Asia visits Pergamos, so does all Crete visit the temple of Lebene, to which resort many people even from Libya. The temple looks towards the Libyan sea, standing near Phæstus, a town where a great sea is restrained by a very little rock. This temple is called Lebenean, from a promontory of the same name running out from it in the shape of a lion, as we see a variety of figures represented by the accidental accumulation of stones. There is a story connected with this promontory which supposes it to have been one of the lions yoked of old to the chariot of Rhea. Whilst he was talking here about mid-day with a great concourse of people, assembled from motives of religion, a violent concussion of the earth shook the whole island, followed by a rumbling noise, proceeding not from the clouds, but from the ground; in consequence of which the sea withdrew about seven stadia from the shore. Many people supposed, by this recession of the sea, that the temple and all belonging to it were swept away. But Apollonius said, Don't be dismayed, for the

* His visit to Crete was in imitation of Pythagoras, who whilst he was there went down into the Idæan Cave, with the Cretan Epimenides, the famous soothsayer. All things, says Pythagoras, are common amongst friends.

sea has brought forth land. Some imagined that he meant to say, that the elements were in harmony, and that the sea would make no encroachment on the land. But behold a few days after some travellers, who came from the province of Cydonia, said, that on the self-same day and hour in which the earthquake was felt, an island rose out of the sea, in the strait which runs between Thera and Crete.* However, to avoid all prolixity, let us pass to what he did at Rome, where he set sail as soon as he had performed his work in Crete.

CHAP. XXXV.

AT this time Nero gave no encouragement to the study of philosophy, whose professors he suspected of magic, and said, they used the name of philosophy as a cloak under which to practise their curious arts. The judges on the bench escaped not then the imputation of using the cloak of philosophy to hide the magic art. Without mentioning others, I cannot pass over Musonius, who, from being a Babylonian,† and considered second in wisdom to Apollonius, was cast into prison, where he would have died, had he not possessed a robust constitution of body. Whilst philosophy and its professors were in such perilous circumstances, Apollonius came to Rome.

* This island, named Thia, appeared long before the time of Apollonius; which clearly shews that Philostratus had no other design than that of accommodating to the life of his hero all marvellous events whatever.

† That is, says Olearius, from being a Chaldean, or a Magician. Magicians, in the imperial edicts, are always denominated *divini* and *Chaldæi*. Chaldæan and Babylonian are the same. Tacitus speaks of a Musonius Rufus, a man devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect; but whether he is the same with the Musonius in the text is doubtful.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHEN he arrived within a hundred and twenty stadia of Rome, he met Philolaus of Citium,* near the grove of Aricia,† a man of great eloquence, but not made for much suffering in times of persecution, for on the road he advised every philosopher he met to follow his example. As soon as he saw Apollonius, he saluted him, and exhorted him to give way to the storm, and not go to Rome, where philosophy lay under such odium. Whilst he was talking of the state of things there, he frequently turned about his head to see if any body was within hearing. You, said he, to Apollonius, are on your way to Rome, attended by a train of philosophers, a circumstance in itself liable to much animadversion. You know not the officers, who are appointed by Nero to take care of the city gates, who will probably apprehend you and them before you enter the town. But tell me, I pray thee, said Apollonius, how the emperor spends his time? In driving a chariot in open day, said Philolaus, in singing on the public stage, and living with gladiators, in whose company, being enrolled as a member, he fights as a gladiator, and kills his man as well as the best. Can there, said Apollonius, interrupting him, be a greater sight presented to the eyes of liberal men, than that of seeing an emperor acting so unbecoming his high station? for in the opinion of Plato, said he, "Man is the play-thing of the Gods," but an emperor making himself the play-thing of men, and forgetting every thing due to himself, what a subject of discourse is it not capable of affording the philosopher? So it would, said Philolaus, if it could be done without any risk. But if, said he, you continue your journey, and lose

* Citium, a town of Crete.

† Aricia, a town of Latium, at the foot of the *Mons Albanus*, on the Appian way, at the distance of 160 stadia from Rome.

your life by Nero's swallowing you up alive, without your ever enjoying such a sight, your gain will not be great: it will cost you more than ever it did Ulysses, when he fell into the hands of the Cyclops, for in order to see that monster, and such a bloody spectacle, he lost numbers of his companions. Act as you think right, said Philolaus; but let not your friends perish. With these words, uttered in a higher tone of voice, he fetched a deep sigh.

CHAP. XXXVII.

DAMIS, fearing lest the language of Philolaus should dishearten their young disciples, took Apollonius aside, and said, Conversations of this kind may do harm, from the terrors they excite. To this Apollonius said, Of all the favours which have fallen to my lot, unsolicited from the Gods, I consider this as one of the greatest, that has put it into my power to ascertain who of my friends are or are not truly attached to philosophy. Of those who were influenced by the discourse of Philolaus, some pretended sickness, others the want of all necessary provision for such a journey; some said domestic business prevented them, and others that they had unlucky dreams. And so his thirty and four companions, who set out with him on his journey, were at last reduced to eight, who alone were found faithful. The rest all fled, through fear of Nero and philosophy.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THEN Apollonius assembling all his friends who remained, amongst whom was Menippus, the favourite of the Empusa, Dioscorides the Egyptian, and Damis, said to them, I will not blame those who have left me, but I will praise you who have remained, because you are men like myself. I will not call the man a coward who has fled through fear of Nero; but I will call him a philosopher

who has conquered his fears, and I will teach him all I know. But first, it is our duty to thank the Gods, by whose assistance both we and they have been inspired with such sentiments; and next, to solicit their direction and guidance on our journey, *for without them we are nothing*. We must go to the city which commands so much of the habitable earth. But how can any one approach it, unless guided by them? especially at a time when a tyranny is established in it, of such a violent nature as suffers men not even to be philosophers. Let no one deem it foolish in us to attempt going to a city from which so many philosophers have fled, for there is nothing in human affairs sufficient to terrify a wise man. No advancement or improvement in any thing can be made without danger and toil. In the many journeys I have made, and no one has made more, I have seen the wild beasts of Arabia and India; but the wild beast, vulgarly called a tyrant, I know not the number of his heads, nor whether his claws are hooked, or his teeth sharp. He is more wild than the animals dwelling in woods and mountains. We know that lions and panthers, by gentle treatment, grow tame and change their natures; but the wild beast called a tyrant, in proportion to the pains taken to tame it, becomes more savage than if left to itself, and tears to pieces every thing within its reach. Of all the wild beasts we read, was it ever known that any of them devoured its own mother? Yet Nero gorged himself with such a feast. If foul deeds like this were perpetrated by Orestes and Alcmaeon, they had some pretext for their conduct in that of their fathers, of whom the one was murdered by his wife, and the other sold by his for a necklace. But Nero, after being adopted by the old Emperor, at the instigation of his mother, and made heir to the empire, he, I say, after such favours conferred, destroyed this very mother by an artificial shipwreck, in a vessel built expressly for the purpose, wherein

she perished not far from the shore.* If, in consequence of such enormities, any person were to suppose Nero an object of terror, and for that reason to abandon philosophy through fear of opposing his inclination, I would let him know that nothing is terrible to men who have made the maxims of temperance and wisdom the rules of their lives; for they are favoured by the Gods, and all they can suffer from such as despise them is, to be reckoned like unto the actions of men drunk with wine, who are in truth mad, but not formidable. We will go to Rome, if our courage does not sink through fear. To Nero's edict, banishing philosophy, let us oppose the Iambic of Sophocles, "Such orders were never given by the father of the Gods"—nor by the Muses, I will add; nor by Apollo, the God of Wisdom. It is probable the Emperor himself knows this Iambic, as he is said to take great delight in tragedy. On this occasion were verified the words of Homer,† who says, that as the warriors became all like one helmet and one shield, when roused and animated by the force of eloquence, so were our philosophers united by the words of Apollonius. They were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of philosophy, and shewed themselves much superior to the men who run away.

CHAP. XXXIX.

OUR travellers now drew near the city gates, through which they passed without being asked any questions by the guards, who admired the singularity of their dress,

* The account given by Tacitus and Suetonius is different from this, and consequently is more to be relied on.

† ——— "Spear crouded spear,
Shield, helmet, man, press'd helmet, man, and shield—"

COWPER. HOMER.

which excited both their attention and wonder. Its fashion was religious, and unlike that worn by common quacks and mountebanks. On entering the city, they withdrew to a public inn near the gates; and whilst sitting at a late meal, a man in a state of intoxication fell into their company, who had a voice not at all unpleasing. This man used to visit the several quarters of the city, and sing the verses of Nero, for which a certain salary was paid him. He had power to arraign all as traitors who listened not with attention, or who did not pay him for what they heard. He possessed a harp, and all the requisites for playing on it, together with a little box, wherein was a string, much worn, which formerly belonged to Nero. This, he said, cost him two minæ, with which he would never part, except to a performer of the first talents, or to him who had won one prize at the Pythian Games. His custom was to begin with a prelude, in which he sung a short hymn in praise of Nero: then other verses were added, partly from the *Orestea* and *Antigone*,* and partly from other tragedies of Nero's own composing; such songs as Nero made sad discord of, he sung with suitable variations. Finding that little or no attention was paid him by Apollonius and his companions, he cried out, they violated the majesty of Nero, and were the enemies of his divine voice, at which our philosophers seemed not much concerned. Whereupon Menippus asked Apollonius his opinion of what the performer said. The same, replied Apollonius, as of what he sung. But it is not our business, Menippus, to shew any signs of dissatisfaction: let us pay him for his music, and leave him to sacrifice to the Muses of Nero. Such was the specimen given by this wretched harper of gross adulation and meanness.

* From the words in the text it may be inferred, that the *Orestea* and *Antigone* were compositions of Nero.

CHAP. XL.

AS soon as it was day, Telesinus, one of the consuls,* sending for Apollonius, asked him why he wore such a peculiar dress? Because, replied he, it is pure, and not taken from any living creature. The Consul next asked, But what is the wisdom you possess? It is, said Apollonius, a divine instinct, which teaches what prayers and sacrifices are most proper to be made to the Gods. Is there any philosopher, replied Telesinus, who is ignorant of this? Very many, said he; and if any man is well informed in these things, he will receive great advantage by knowing from one wiser than himself, that what he knows, he knows well. When Telesinus (whose mind was more than usual attached to religious worship) heard what he said, it immediately occurred to him that he was the man of whom public fame had spoken so much; but at present he declined asking his name, from apprehending it might be his wish to conceal it. Telesinus then returning to religious subjects, in which he was well versed, addressed Apollonius as a sage, and said, What do you pray for when you approach the altars? That justice may prevail, said Apollonius; that the laws may not be broken; that wise men may be poor, and the rest of mankind rich, but not by fraud. What, said Telesinus, do you think that by asking you will obtain such great things? Yes, I do, said he; for when I approach the altars, I include every request in one prayer, and thus address the Gods: "Grant, O ye Gods, all that is convenient for me." So that if the Gods rank me in the number of the good, I hope to ob-

* In the reign of Domitian, he chose rather to retire from his native country as a philosopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profession.

tain more than what I ask; but if they number me with the wicked, I know the contrary to what I ask will be given; and I will not accuse the Gods for judging me undeserving of their favours on account of my demerits. At hearing this, Telesinus was amazed; but being desirous of shewing him every mark of respect, he said, Be it lawful for you to enter all the temples; I will write to the priests to receive you, and submit to your superior orders. What, said Apollonius, would they not receive me without your written commands? No, said he, for the permission depends on my situation as Pontifex Maximus. I am glad, said Apollonius, a man so illustrious is appointed to fill that office; at the same time I wish you to know from me, that I would prefer dwelling in temples which are not so vigilantly guarded. None of the Gods reject me, and all give me the protection of their roof. This is all the permission I crave, and which is not denied me by the barbarians. If that is so, said Telesinus, the barbarians have been beforehand with us in such a praise-worthy attention; for I wished it said of ourselves. After this Apollonius took up his abode in the temples, and in none he dwelt without making some reformation. In this way he passed from temple to temple, which gave rise to some animadversions, which he explained by saying, The Gods themselves do not always dwell in the heavens; they visit Æthiopia and Olympus in turns, and sometimes mount Athos. If the Gods condescend to visit all nations, would it not be an incongruity in men not visiting all the Gods? But no one will blame masters if they neglect their slaves; for it is not probable they would be so treated undeservedly. But slaves who do not respect their masters, deserve from them the severest treatment, which is that of being cast away as accursed, and odious to the Gods.

CHAP. XLI.

WHILST Apollonius instructed persons in the temples, the people were more attentive to the public worship; and the temples he frequented were most crowded, because in them the worshippers expected greater favours from the Gods than in the others; to which may be added, that what he said was less liable to be misrepresented on account of its publicity. He visited in person no man, nor ever paid his court to the great and powerful. He received all who came to him with civility, and what he said to them he said to all the world.

CHAP. XLII.

ABOUT this time Demetrius, who loved Apollonius (as was noticed in what passed at Corinth) came to Rome, and shewed him so much attention, that Nero was provoked by it, and began to suspect that the art which Apollonius professed, caused the intimacy. It was apprehended Apollonius encouraged him to act as he did, for after Nero finished his gymnasium, which was the admiration of Rome, and celebrated the anniversary of it in the midst of the senate, and the knights assembled, and performed all the necessary sacrifices on the occasion, Demetrius entered it, and pronounced an oration against all who bathed in it,* saying they were effeminate; and polluters, not cleansers of themselves; to which he added, that the ex-

* There was a hot bath joined to the gymnasium, after the fashion of the Greeks, and this appears from Suetonius, who says, "Upon the first opening of a hot bath, and a school of exercise (Gymnasium) which Nero built, he furnished the senate, and the equestrian order with oil.

pense attending such works was idle, and superfluous. These words would have cost him his life, had not Nero outdone himself that day in singing. It was in a tavern near the gymnasium, in which he sung with only a girdle tied round his waist, but in every other respect was as naked as one of the lowest attendants of the place. Yet Demetrius incurred all the danger of what he said, for Tigellinus,* to whom the sword of Rome was committed, banished him from the city, just as if he had demolished the baths by his harangue.

CHAP. XLIII.

ALL the time Apollonius staid in Rome, Tigellinus kept a vigilant, but silent eye over him, and observed all he said, whether it was reprehensible or not. Apollonius took care not to indulge in any unbecoming license of speech, nor yet to shew a too solicitous concern like persons ever on the watch. He said what he thought sufficient on the common topics of the day, and talked with Telesinus on philosophical subjects, and with others, who conceived they run no risk, though philosophy stood on the most slippery grounds. However, he had fallen under a suspicion as I have said, which was not diminished by the observations made on the subject of a prodigy. It happened to thunder during an eclipse of the sun, an occurrence which never takes place at such a time. Apollonius lift-

* Tigellinus was celebrated for his intrigues and perfidy in the court of Nero.—He was appointed judge at the trial of the conspirators who had leagued against Nero, for which he was liberally rewarded with triumphal honours.—He afterwards betrayed the emperor, and was ordered to destroy himself. Tacitus says, he corrupted Nero at first, and then deserted him, “ac postremo ejusdem desertor ac proditor.” Tacitus has given his character with his accustomed strength and brevity.—History, b. i. c. 72.

ing up his eyes to heaven said, A great event shall or shall not happen.* They, who heard these words, were unable to comprehend their meaning, but three days after the eclipse, all understood them. For whilst Nero was at supper, a thunderbolt fell on the table where he sat,† which broke the cup in his hand as he was raising it to his mouth. The danger he run of being killed by it was signified by Apollonius when he said, a great event shall or shall not happen. Great fear seized on Tigellinus when he heard this, from supposing Apollonius deeply skilled in divine things. He thought it wise, however, not to take any notice of it, lest some secret harm might befall him. He still continued to have him well watched by all those eyes, which are ever at the beck of sovereign power; for whether he talked, or held his tongue, or walked, or did not; whether he eat alone, or in company, or sacrificed, or did not; all and every thing was reported to him.

CHAP. XLIV.

A DISTEMPER at this time became prevalent in Rome, which the physicians termed a catarrh. It was attended with a cough, and great difficulty in breathing. In consequence of a swelling in Nero's throat, and a hoarseness in his voice, the temples were crouded with votaries offer-

* Cautious and circumspect enough, to keep himself from being invalidated as a prophet. "Il est important de ne point parler clairement, on finit tôt ou tard par passer pour prophète."

† I find no account of this in history. In the close of the year, says the writers of the Universal History, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies, asserted to have happened, and always looked upon as the forerunners of some dreadful calamity. Suetonius says, a blazing star appeared above the horizon several nights successively, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes.

ing up their prayers to the Gods for his recovery. Apollonius was greatly vexed at this madness of the people, yet no man was rebuked by him in public. He even persuaded Menippus to restrain his indignation, by telling him that the Gods were to be forgiven, if they took pleasure in the company of buffoons and jesters. These words were carried to Tigellinus, who sent immediately to have him arrested, and brought before him to answer the charge of high treason. An informer, well-instructed, came forward, who had been the ruin of many, one who was full of such kind of Olympic victories. He held in his hand a roll wherein was written the accusation, which he flourished about him like a sword before the eyes of Apollonius, boasting he had given it a sharp edge, and that now his hour was come. Upon this, Tigellinus unfolded the roll, when lo and behold, neither letter nor character was to be seen :* which made all think the man was a demon. This was the opinion which Domitian some time after entertained of him. When Tigellinus saw this, he took Apollonius into a more secret part of the court, where the most solemn business was transacted; and making the people withdraw, he asked him who he was? Apollonius told him his own name, and that of his father, and his country; and the use he made of philosophy, which was to know both Gods and men; but that to know oneself, he said, was the most difficult of all things. But, in what way, said Tigellinus, do you discover demons, and the apparitions of spectres? Just as I do homicides and impious men, replied Apollonius; and this he said in sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus, who countenanced and encouraged Nero in all his cruelty and debauchery. Tigellinus continued, will you prophesy for me, Apollonius, if I ask it? How can I, said he, who am no soothsayer? But, returned Tigellinus, we are told you are the man who said,

* Credat qui vult.

that a great event would, or would not take place. You heard only the truth, said Apollonius: but it is not to be attributed to the art of divination: it is to be rather ascribed to that wisdom which Jupiter makes manifest to the wise. How comes it to pass, said Tigellinus, that you do not fear Nero? Because, answered he, the same deity who has made him formidable, has made me bold. Pray what do you think of the emperor? I think better of him than you do: for you think he ought to sing, and I think he ought to hold his tongue. Tigellinus, being struck with these words, said, Go where you please, only giving security for your appearance when required. But who, replied Apollonius, can go bail for that, which cannot be bound? All these things appeared in the eyes of Tigellinus divine, and above human power: and to shew he did not wish to contend with a God, he bid him go where he pleased, as he was too strong to be subject to his authority.*

CHAP. XLV.

WHAT I am going to relate is set down among the marvellous acts of Apollonius. A girl on the point of being married, seemingly died, whose bier was followed by him who was to have been her husband, in all the affliction usual in like cases of interrupted wedlock. As she happened to be of a consular family, all Rome condoled with him. Apollonius, meeting the funeral procession, said to the attendants, set down the bier, and I will dry up the tears which you are shedding for the maid, whose name he inquired after. Almost all the spectators present thought

* J'ai rapporté cet entretien de Tigillin et D'Apollone pour faire voir qu'il n'y avoit dans Apollone que de la hardiesse et de la vanité qui le soutenoient dans les occasions les plus perilleuses. DU PIN.

he was going to pronounce a funeral oration like what is done on such occasions to excite compassion. But all he did was, to touch the maid, and after uttering a few words over her in a low tone of voice, he wakened her from that death with which she seemed to be overcome.* She immediately began to speak, and returned to her father's house, as Alcestis did of old, when recalled to life by Hercules. The relations of the girl presented Apollonius with an hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which he in return begged to settle on her, as a marriage-portion. It is as difficult to me as it was to all who were present, to ascertain whether Apollonius discovered the vital spark, which had escaped the faculty, (for it is said, it rained at the time, which caused a vapour to rise from her face) or whether he cherished and brought back to life the soul, which to all appearance was extinct.

CHAP. XLVI.

AT this time Nero cast into prison Musonius, who excelled most others in philosophy. During his confinement, he

* This is the only instance that looks like a miraculous resurrection, on which Eusebius's remark, as quoted by Lardner, is very pertinent, who says, as it was not credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much mind it: for in reasoning about it, he supposeth that there were some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having a dew of sweat upon her face: and moreover, as this is said to have happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would have come to the knowledge of the Emperor, and his courtiers, and to the philosopher Euphrates, then at Rome; and would have been particularly taken notice of, either in favour of Apollonius, or to his disadvantage, neither of which happened. But granting it true, I would ask, *cui bono* was such a violation of the established laws of nature? besides, the whole credit due to it, is ultimately to be resolved into the credit of one man.

The wife of Admetus, King of Thessaly, who being sick, sent to the oracle, and was answered that he must needs die, unless one of his friends would die for him—they all refused, and then she voluntarily submitted to die for him. According to some authors Hercules brought her back from hell.

deprecated all intercourse with Apollonius, lest it might endanger both. What correspondence they had was carried on through the medium of Menippus and Damis, who had free access to the prison. Omitting such epistles as were of little or no moment, we will only notice the most interesting, in which may be found whatever is most important.

1. "Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher, greeting.

"I wish to go to you, and enjoy your conversation and roof.—I wish to be in some way or other useful to you.—If you doubt not that Hercules delivered Theseus from the shades, write your pleasure. Farewel."

2. "Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher.

"Your proposal is worthy of all praise. But, the man who is able to clear himself, and prove he is guilty of no crime, will deliver himself. Farewel."

3. "Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher.

"Socrates the Athenian refused being delivered by his friends; he was guilty of no crime cognizable by the court which tried him: yet he died. Farewel."

4. "Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher.

"Socrates died because he did not defend himself: but I will defend myself. Farewel."

CHAP. XLVII.

WHEN Nero was setting out for Greece, he published an edict, forbidding the philosophers to remain in Rome.*

* This Decree, according to Olearius, was made before the month of November, in the year of Christ 66.—For he says, it appears from Josephus, that Nero was in that month in Achaia.

Whereupon, Apollonius determined to visit the western parts of the world, said to be bounded by the pillars of Hercules. He wished to see the ebbing and flowing of the ocean, and Gades, of the philosophy of whose inhabitants he heard that it almost approached divine wisdom. All his friends accompanied him, praising not only his resolution, but the object of the journey.

CHAP. I.

OF the pillars, which are said to have been fixed by Hercules as the boundaries of the earth, I shall pass over all that is fabulous, and confine myself only to what is worth being related. The two promontories of Europe and Asia, distant from each other about sixty stadia, form the strait through which the ocean, (whereby it is understood the Mediterranean) is carried into the outer sea. The promontory of Africa is called Abinnus. The heights of the mountains abound in lions; on the land side, it extends till it limits the Garamians and Thagitanians, two nations whose manners are savage and African. In adjoining the Mediterranean, this mountain runs about ninety stadia.

Sixty stadia (taking the stadium as an average of 600 feet) make but five miles and three quarters. The narrow sea then opens, and the mountains of Asia and Europe make the coast of Europe and Africa appear nearer to each other than in reality they are; both these mountains indeed, but Europe more particularly, stretch themselves toward the sea. More commonly called Atlas, or Abinnus, a mountain of Africa in that part which is nearest to the opposite mountain, called Capes, on the coast of Spain, only 70 miles distant. Thagitanians, Thagitan, is the country immediately bordering on Abinnus (of which Tangier, now Tangier, is the capital), adjoining to still provinces on the east of Gades.

BOOK V.—CONTENTS.

Apollonius visits the Pillars of Hercules—Particulars of his Voyage from Gades to Egypt—Stays some time at Alexandria—Meets Vespasian there—Conversation with him on the State of Public Affairs—Misunderstanding between him and Euphrates.

CHAP. I.

OF the pillars, which are said to have been fixed by Hercules as the boundaries of the earth, I shall pass over all that is fabulous, and confine myself only to what is worth being related. The two promontories of Europe and Asia, distant from each other about sixty stadia,* form the strait,† through which, the ocean, (whereby, is understood the Mediterranean) is carried into the outer sea. The promontory of Africa is called Abinna.‡ The heights of this mountain abound in lions; on the land side, it extends till it limits the Getulians§ and Tingitanians, two nations whose manners are savage, and African. In sailing into the Mediterranean, this mountain runs about ninety stadia,

* Sixty stadia, (taking the stadium on an average at 500 feet) make but five miles and three quarters.

† The narrow sea then opens, and the mountains Abila and Calpe, make the coasts of Europe and Africa appear nearer to each other than in reality they are; both these mountains indeed, but Calpe more particularly, stretch themselves toward the sea. POMP. MELA.

‡ More commonly called *Abyla*, or *Abila*, a mountain of Africa in that part which is nearest to the opposite mountain, called *Calpe*, on the coast of Spain, only 18 miles distant. LEMPRIERE.

§ Mauritania Tingitana, is the province immediately bordering on Abinna, (of which Tingis, now Tangier, is the capital) adjoining to said province on the east lies Getulia.

as far as the river Salex;* how much farther is not easy to conjecture, because, beyond it the country becomes uncultivated, and uninhabitable. The European promontory is called Calpis, which extends six† hundred stadia on the right, as you sail into the outer sea, and ends at the ancient Gades.‡

CHAP. II.

I HAVE seen myself among the Celtæ, the ebbing and flowing of the ocean,§ which corresponds exactly with the common opinion. Having often considered the cause of this phenomenon, namely, the flux and reflux of such a body of waters, I am of opinion Apollonius has discovered its true origin. In one of his epistles, written to the Indians, he says, The ocean moved underneath, by winds blowing from the many caverns which the earth has formed on every side of it, puts forth its waters, and draws

* Salex, of which river I can find no account.

† Cadiz, according to modern geographers, lies forty-five miles from Gibraltar.—Taking the stadium at 500 feet, the distance will be according to our author about 56 English miles.

‡ Called by Philostratus *Gadeira*—from its Phenician name *Gadir*, which Pliny says, signifies a *hedge*. Strabo says, it was founded by a colony from Tyre. *Gadir* properly signifies an *inclosure*, or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea.

§ Olearius supposes it must have been at Massilia, now Marseilles, where this ebbing and flowing of the ocean was seen by our author, for in no part of the Mediterranean is that phenomenon so conspicuous: yet Massilia is in Gallia Narbonenses, not Celtica. This circumstance renders the conjecture of Olearius doubtful. By Celtæ, here, I suppose our author understood Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtiberia, or Spain in general; for the Celtes, after passing over the Pyrenean mountains, took the name of Celtiberians from the name *Iberia*, or *Iber*, in the old Celtic or Teutonic, signifying *over*—consequently the ebbing and flowing alluded to, might have been on any part of the western coast of Spain.

them in again, as is the case of the breath in respiration. This opinion is corroborated, he adds, by the account he received of the sick at Gades.* For at the time of the flowing of the tide, the breath never leaves the dying man, which would not happen if the tide did not supply the earth with a portion of air sufficient to produce this effect. All the phases of the moon during the increase, fullness, and wane, are to be observed in the sea. Hence it comes to pass, that the ocean follows the changes of the moon, by increasing and decreasing with it.

CHAP. III.

AMONG the Celtæ, night and day gradually succeed each other ; darkness giving place to light, and light to darkness, as at Rome. About Gades and the pillars, both burst suddenly† on the sight with the velocity of lightning. The fortunate isles‡ are comprised within the limits of Africa, and not far from a promontory, which is uninhabitable. Gades is situate in Europe.

CHAP. IV.

THE people inhabiting these countries are very superstitious in matters of religion. They have erected an altar

* So little, says Posidonius, did the inhabitants of Bœtica know of physic, that they used, like the Lusitani, to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them, and perhaps, that they might enjoy better the supposed advantage of the flowing of the tide, as mentioned in the text.

† Without any previous twilight.

‡ Fortunatæ Insulæ—now called Canaries—they are seven in number, situated in the same parallel with the southern parts of Mauritania.

to *old age*,* and are the only people known who sing hymns in honour of *death*.† Even art and poverty‡ have altars with them, as Hercules of Egypt has with some, and Hercules of Thebes with others. The latter is said to have penetrated into Erythia,§ in the vicinity of Gades, from which he carried away Geryon, and his oxen; and the former, who was much addicted to science, traversed the whole earth. The inhabitants of Gades are said to be by descent Greeks, and are instructed in our customs. They honour the Athenians above all the Greeks, and offer sacrifices to Menestheus,|| King of Athens. In consequence of their veneration for the character of Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, they have raised to him a statue of brass, which seemed to breathe, and which they approach as an oracle.

CHAP. V.

HERE they saw trees not to be found in any other country, called geryoneæ,** of which, two were growing on a

* The Romans divided the life of man into two ages rather than four—Youth, *Juventa*—and old age, *Senectus*, of both these the poets in the Augustan age, spoke in a manner which plainly shewed that they were received as personages and deities in their religion. SPENCE.

† Death and sleep are placed by Virgil among the evil beings of hell.

‡ Poverty, *Penia*, a Goddess whom Aristophanes describes in his play of *Plutus*, was held in high veneration by the people of Gades, from an idea that she was the inventress of arts, by her power of quickening the industry, and calling forth the genius of men.

§ Erythia, an island adjoining, according to the ancients, either to, or a part of, Gades, no where now to be found by the description given of it by ancient authors. The island on which Gades stands, was called *Erythræa* by some people, who came with Hercules from the Red Sea, who, with the approbation of their leader, Hercules, made a settlement there.

|| On one of the mouths of the river Bætis, *Menestheus*, the Athenian, built a city of his own name, and a temple between the two branches, which was called *Oraculum Menestheum*.

** Pausanias says, there is not any sepulchre extant of Geryon at Gades,

tumulus, raised over the body of Geryon. The geryonea is a species of the pine, and pitch-tree, and drops blood as the Heliad poplar does gold. The island,* in which is the temple,† does not exceed in dimensions the temple itself: not a stone appears in it, but the whole looks like the most polished surface. In this temple, two Herculese are worshipped without having statues erected to them. The Egyptian Hercules has two brazen altars without inscriptions, the Theban but one. Here we saw engraved in stone the Hydra, and Diomed's mares, and the twelve labours of Hercules, together with the golden olive of Pygmalion‡ wrought with exquisite skill, and placed here no less on account of the beauty of its branches, than on that of its fruit, which appeared as if real, growing out of an emerald. Besides the above, the golden belt of the Telamonian Teucer§ was shewn them. But why, or wherefore he crossed the Mediterranean, neither Damis knew himself, nor could learn from the natives of the country. The pillars in the temple were composed of gold and silver, and so nicely blended were the metals,

Gades, and that nothing but a tree remains, endowed with a variety of forms. The account in the text is doubtless entirely fabulous, [as well as that of Pausanias's multiform tree.

* Erythia.—

† The Phenicians, says Sir Isaac Newton, after the death of Melcartus, (a name given by the people of Tyre to Hercules) built a temple to him in the island Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his hydra, and the horses, to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Bistones in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit; and by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion, you may know that it was built in their days.

‡ This splendid gift of Pygmalion, exhibits, says Mr. Maurice, a curious proof of the early skill of the Phenicians in working metals and gems.

§ We are to understand here the belt, from which Teucer was surnamed the *Telamonian*, τελαμων vinculum, Balteus.

as to form but one colour. They were more than a cubit high, of a quadrangular form, like anvils, whose capitals were inscribed with characters neither Egyptian, nor Indian, nor such as could be decyphered.* As the priests themselves, could give no explanation of them, Apollonius said, the Egyptian Hercules† will no longer suffer me to be silent. These pillars‡ are the chains, which bind together the earth and sea, the inscriptions on them were executed by Hercules in the house of the Parcæ, to prevent discord arising among the elements, and that friendship being interrupted which they have for each other.

CHAP. VI.

OUR travellers sailed up the river Bætis,§ in doing which they found that the nature of the river contributed much to discover the nature of the ebbing and flowing of the sea. For at the time of the flowing of the tide, the river returns to its source by means of a wind, which repels it

* The characters were Phenician, of which many monuments give at this day evident proof.

† It is supposed, that the Egyptian Hercules, as well as the Theban, that is, the Phenician, who were worshipped in the same temple without having statues erected to either of them; and which temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules, were the same person.

‡ This is noticed in Arpe's treatise of the rise and progress of the talismanic art, in these words—"In Hispania erant Herculis columnæ terrarum Occanique vincula, quæ Hercules domui Parcarum inscripserat, ne qua clementis contentio sit, neque amicitiam lædant."

The two pillars, says Banier, in his mythology, were looked on by the antients as two talismans, that had influence to stop the force of the elements.—It was, undoubtedly, adds he, the antient Phenician characters engraved upon them, and which were not understood, that gave rise to the fable.

§ A river of Spain, from which a part of the country has received the name of Bætica. It is now called the Guadalquiver.

from the sea. The country, called Bœtica,* derives its name from the river, and is esteemed most fertile. In it are well-built towns, rich pasture, and tillage grounds, all watered by the Bœtis,† and besides, is possessed of such a climate as is at Athens in the autumn, and at the time of the celebration of the mysteries.

CHAP. VII.

OF such discourses as Apollonius held on most subjects, whilst in this country, Damis says, he has preserved only what were most worthy of notice. One day, when Apollonius and his companions were sitting in the temple of Hercules, Menippus happening to smile on the name of Nero being mentioned, said, what shall we think, my friends, of that good emperor?‡ Are there any contests, in which we can give him the merit of deserving a crown? Do not you think the Greeks must die with laughter, when they see him enter the lists? To this Apollonius said, I have heard from Telesinus, that the excellent Nero fears being flogged by the Eleans. When his flatterers exhorted him to conquer at the Olympic Games, and have proclamation made of it at Rome by the voice of the com-

* Celebrated by ancient authors, under the name of Tharsis. Ezekiel the prophet in treating of the rich supply of Tyre, says, "Tarshish was thy merchants, by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

† Fair Bœtes; olives wreath thy azure locks,
In fleecy gold thou cloth'st thy neighb'ring flocks:
Thy fruitful banks with rival bounty smile,
While Bacchus wine bestows, and Pallas oil.

MARTIAL.

‡ See Suetonius *passim* for various specimens of Nero's unheard of follies, and wild extravagancies.

mon herald, he said, But what if the Eleans should chastise me? For, I am informed, they scourge with rods, and take more upon themselves than I do myself. These, with many other greater impertinences he used to utter. For my own part, said Apollonius, I suppose he will conquer at Olympia, for who would be so fool-hardy as to contend with him? But he will never conquer at the Olympic Games, celebrated after their due and legal manner. For, when by the law of Greece, the Olympic Games should have been solemnized last year, Nero ordered them to be adjourned till he 'came himself, as if the sacrifices on the occasion were to be offered to him, and not to Jupiter. What will you say to his announcing the exhibition of tragedies, and the music of the harp, to a people who had neither stage nor scenic decorations fit for their celebration; but only a stadium that nature afforded, and naked sports? And what shall we think of his seeking victory from what ought to be hidden in darkness? And of his laying aside the royal robe of Augustus and Julius, and putting on that of Amœbeus and Terpnus? What of his piquing himself to express distinctly the exact words of Creon and Œdipus, and at the same time of dreading the smallest mistake in going out of one door rather than another, or in wearing this or that habit, or in the manner of moving his sceptre? What are we to think of his departing so far from his own dignity, and that of the Roman people, as to thrill notes of music, instead of making laws for the regulation of morals? and what of his acting the part of a buffoon at a distance from that city wherein he ought to reside as sovereign, dispens-

* Two celebrated musicians, who framed to the harp many a Roman ditty.—As soon as Nero became Emperor, he sent for the harper Terpnus, by whose side he used to sit whilst he played after supper, until late at night.

SUETONIUS.

But no music had charms to soothe the savageness of his nature.

ing the fates of land and sea? There are many tragedians, Menippus, amongst whom he wishes to have his name enrolled. But what would be thought of an actor, if after having appeared in the character of **Æ**nomaus, or Cresphontes, he should, on quitting the stage, be so impressed with the idea of the part he represented, as to wish to rule over others, and act the tyrant? What opinion, I say, would be formed of him? Would not a dose of hellebore, or some other medical preparation be necessary for purging his mind? But let us suppose the prince himself was to turn tragedian, or strolling player, and modulate his voice through fear of offending the ears of the Eleans and Delphians; or suppose he was, from having no fears of them, to act his part so ill as to subject himself to the chastisement of his own subjects, what opinion would you form of the miserable men who lived under such an abomination? Who appears, think you, O Menippus! most reprehensible in the eyes of the Greeks, Xerxes laying all things waste with fire and sword, or Nero humming a song? For if the expense be taken into consideration, which his singing costs the country, the numbers of people turned out of their dwellings, the uncertain possession of all that is valuable in domestic property; the numerous sufferings endured by wives and daughters, all of whom are taken to gratify his infamous passions, to which, if is added, the thousand accusations springing from the aforesaid causes, with the others to be omitted, as for instance, You, Sir, have not been to hear Nero, or, You attended, but did not listen with attention: You, Sir, laughed, or did not applaud: You, Sir, offered no sacrifice for the improvement of the emperor's voice, that it might be clearer than that of the Pythian prophetess at Delphi. When, I say, you consider all these things, you will not differ with me in thinking that Greece has many Iliads of woe, of which to complain. For as to his cutting, or not cutting through the Isthmus, or whe-

ther at present, he is, or is not employed in it, matters not, for I have long foreseen the consequence by the suggestions of a God. But sure, said Damis, the idea of cutting through the Isthmus, far exceeds all his other enterprises. You must see yourself, what an undertaking it is. I do, said Apollonius; but then, the not finishing what he has begun will add nothing to his glory, for it will appear to all the world that he digs as ill as he sings.* In reviewing the actions of Xerxes I commend the man; not for having joined the Hellespont by a bridge; but for his having passed over it. Nero, I plainly see, will never sail through the Isthmus, nor finish what he is about. If there is truth in man, I think he will quit Greece in terror and dismay.†

CHAP. VIII.

AFTER this, a messenger arrived at Gades with dispatches from government, ordering sacrifices to be offered for the good news of Nero having been three times conqueror at the Olympic Games. The people of Gades understood the news of the messenger from what they remembered of Arcadia, &c. and from being as I have before said, zealous imitators of the Greeks. But the adjacent towns knew nothing of Olympia nor its games, nor its contests, nor why they should sacrifice on such an occasion. In consequence of their ignorance, they run into very ridiculous mistakes, supposing that some military exploit had been achieved; and that Nero had conquered a people called Olympians. In all their lives they had never

* Suetonius says, his voice was naturally neither loud, nor clear.

† On his returning from Greece, he heard at Naples of some disturbances having arisen in Gaul under the auspices of Julius Vindex.

seen the representation of a tragedy, nor a performance on the harp.

CHAP. IX.

DAMIS thinks the manner in which the people of Hispalis*, a town in the province of Bœtica, were affected at the sight of a certain tragedian's coming among them, worth noticing. This actor arrived at the time when sacrifices (then common in Spain) were announced for some victories gained at the Pythian games, and was now strolling up and down the country after having declined entering the lists with Nero. This man made the most of his theatrical talents, and among people who were not altogether barbarous, excited much wonder and speculation, first from their never having heard of a tragedy, and next from his giving out, that he imitated exactly Nero's peculiar style in singing. On his coming to Hispalis, he surprised the natives by his manner of standing on the stage without uttering a word. But when he strutted along, with his mouth wide open, elevated on lofty buskins, and trailing after him a pompous robe; they were indeed astonished. At length, when he began to declaim aloud, they ran away in terrors as if frightened out of their wits by some demon. Such was the simplicity of manners which then prevailed amongst the barbarians of these parts.

CHAP. X.

THE governor of the province of Bœtica frequently applied to Apollonius for a conference, who replied, that his

* An ancient town on the Bœtis, which is navigable quite up to it for ships of burthen, and thence to Corduba, for river-barges. It had a *conventus juridicus*, or court of justice, now called Seville.

conversation could be only relished by men who cultivated philosophy. But the governor pressed an interview, and Apollonius, when he heard of the excellence of his character, and that he detested the extravagancies of Nero, instantly complied; at the same time he wrote him a letter, requesting a meeting at Gades. When the governor received the letter, he waited on him with a few select friends, without any ceremony whatever. As soon as mutual salutations were past, they had a private interview, of which no one except themselves knew the purport. Damis supposes a plot was contrived for the putting Nero to death, for he says the conference lasted three days, at the end of which, the governor embraced Apollonius and took his leave of him with these words, "*Farewel, and remember Vindex*;"* the meaning of which, is what follows. Whilst Nero was singing in Achaia, Vindex was stirring up to rebellion the Hesperian nations,† (a man every way fitted to snap those strings, on which the emperor played so sillily) he spoke to the armies, he commanded, and said what might have been supposed to flow from the purest fountains of philosophy. He told them that Nero was every thing rather than a harper; and yet a harper rather than an emperor. He accused him of madness, cruelty, avarice, and every species of lasciviousness. He did not arraign him for the most cruel of all his ac-

* Vindex, a governour of Gaul, who revolted against Nero, and determined to deliver the Roman empire from his tyranny. He was followed by a numerous army, but at last defeated by one of the Emperor's generals. When he perceived that all was lost he laid violent hands upon himself.

† *Hesperian nations* mean here Gauls. I suppose the word *Hesperia* was applied by the Romans to all countries that lay to the west of them. The Greeks called Italy *Hesperia* (from *Hesper*, or *Vesper*, the setting sun, or the evening) because it was situate in the west at the setting sun. The same name for similar reasons was applied to Spain by the Latins.

tions, because it was generally allowed that his mother was partly put to death for having brought into the world such a monster. Apollonius, who foresaw the end of what was passing, strengthened the cause of Vindex, by associating with him in it the governor of a neighbouring province, doing every thing in short for Rome except that of taking up arms in her defence.

CHAP. XI.

WHILST affairs were thus circumstanced in Spain, our travellers passed into Africa, and from that into the country* of the Tyrrhenians, from whence, partly by land, and partly by sea, they proceeded to Sicily and landed at Lilybæum. In approaching Messena, and the strait where the Tyrrhenian sea mixes with the Adriatic, and forms the gulph which is so dangerous to sailors, they say they heard of the flight of Nero, the death of Vindex, and of the empire being invaded partly by Romans, and partly by strangers. Whereupon, his companions asked him to tell what he thought would be the consequence of these disturbances? and whom he thought would become master of the empire? To which he answered, *many Thebans*, herein alluding to the short-lived power of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho, which he compared to that of the Thebans,† who for a little time held dominion in the affairs of Greece.

* Etruria—a celebrated country of Italy, which originally contained twelve different nations. The inhabitants were particularly famous for their superstition; and great confidence in omens, dreams, auguries, &c. which accounts for this visit paid to it by Apollonius.

† With Epaminondas died the power of the Theban commonwealth; so that it is manifest that the glory of his country was born, and died with him.

C H A P. XII.

WHAT I have said clearly proves that Apollonius had a foreknowledge of what was to come to pass, and that they who consider him in the light of an enchanter,* must be mad. Let us, however, consider the matter more at large. Enchanters (whom of all men I account the most miserable) boast of having power to change the decrees of fate, either by the tormenting of spirits, or by barbaric sacrifices, or charms, or poisons; and many of them, when accused of such practices, have confessed the fact. But Apollonius, contrary to them, followed the decrees of destiny, and only declared what they would be; and this not by the means of enchantments, but by such communications as were made him by the Gods. For when he saw among the Indians, tripods and cupbearers, and other things of the automaton kind, he never inquired how they were constructed, nor how to make them.† He barely gave them his approbation without shewing any inclination to imitate them.

C H A P. XIII.

WHEN they came to Syracuse, a woman of no mean family happened to be brought to bed of a monster, such as

* St. Jerom and Justin Martyr assign no other reason for all his wonderful operations, than the knowledge he had of nature and absolve him from all charge of magic.—The former says of him in his epistle to Paulinus, “Apollonius, sive magus, ut vulgus loquitur, sive Philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt.” The latter is much more open in his questions to the orthodox, “Apollonius ut vir naturalium potentiarum & dissensionum atque consensionum earum peritus, ex hac scientiâ mira faciebat, non autoritatê divinâ; hanc ob rem in omnibus indiguit assumptione idonearum materiarum quæ eum adjuvarent ad id perficiendum quod efficiebatur.”

† I am of opinion the art of making so very necessary pieces of furniture, would have been of more service to mankind than all his pretended miracles, &c.

was never seen before. It was a child with three heads, three necks, and but one body. The vulgar interpretation which some gave to this prodigy was, that Sicily called Trinacria, from its three promontories, would be undone, if not supported by unanimity and harmony; many of its cities being full of intestine feuds, and at variance with each other without any good order throughout the island. Others said it was the many-headed Typhœus, who threatened the island. Whereupon, Apollonius said, Go Damis, and see whether what is reported is true; for at this time the monster was shewn in public for the inspection of the curious, who might be able to form some opinion of it. As soon as Damis made his report of its having three heads, and that it was of the masculine gender, Apollonius collecting his friends about him, said, Rome will have three emperors, whom yesterday I called Thebans. None of them shall acquire the entire dominion of the empire; but some, after getting the supreme power in Rome, and others in its vicinity, shall be cut off, and change their characters as quickly as they who represent the parts of tyrants on the stage. As he said, so his prediction turned out. For Galba, soon after his election to the empire, perished within the walls of Rome. Vitellius was lost whilst dreaming of the supreme power, and Otho ended his career amongst the western Gauls, without the common honour of a funeral, as if a private man. All this was dispatched by fortune within the brief space of one year.

CHAP. XIV.

AFTER this, Apollonius and his friends proceeded to Catana, near which stands mount Ætna. Here they learnt that Typhœus was chained under the mountain, from whom issued that fire which fed Ætna. But our travellers

accounted for the phenomenon in a way more rational, and like philosophers. Apollonius introduced the investigation, with asking his companions, Is there a mythology? Yes, said Menippus, and is what the poets speak so much of. And what do you think of Esop? * That he is a mythologist, and an inventor of fables. But what fables, said Apollonius, do you consider most wise? Those of the poets, replied Menippus, and the reason is, because they are sung as if true. What then is your opinion of Esop's? † I think them all, said Menippus, about frogs, and asses, and such trifles, and only fit to be swallowed by old women and children. And yet they appear to me, said Apollonius, best adapted to convey wisdom. Heroic fables, with which poetry abounds, corrupt the hearers, inasmuch as the writers of them make absurd amours, incestuous marriages, blasphemies against the Gods, children devoured, and unbecoming stratagems, and disputes, the subjects of their compositions. The poets, in relating the above as true, invite the lover, the jealous man, the miser, and the ambitious, to the perpetration of that which is only represented. But Esop, on account of his wisdom, with which he was endowed, never ranked himself with

* Æsop is always a new book,
 Æsop in a judicious hand;
 But 'tis in vain on it to look,
 Without the grace to understand,
 Pleasant his fables are indeed,
 Profound, ingenious, and sly;
 Fables that infancy may read,
 Maturity alone apply.

Hall's Fables.

† Plato, after having banished Homer from his commonwealth, has given Æsop a very honourable place in it. He wishes that children were to suck these fables with their milk: he recommends them to nurses to teach them, for one cannot accustom them too soon to wisdom and virtue.

the herd of such versifiers, but opened a new road to fame. He, like those who knew how to treat well their guests with the commonest fare, uses subjects apparently small, to give great instruction; and to the fable delivered, subjoins the moral, which says, *Do this*, and *Don't do that*. Besides, he is more attached to truth than the poet. The poets do all in their power to give their fables an air of probability,* but Esop, on the contrary, in proposing his fable, proposes what every body knows is false, and yet from it draws nothing but what is true. The poet, after he has delivered his fable, submits it to the good sense of his hearers to examine its truth. But, the writer of fables, when he proposes his story, and subjoins its moral, shews clearly, as Esop does, that he has used what was false, as a medium to convey what is useful to his hearers. The beauty of this kind of writing consists in making animals without sense, so entertaining as to excite the attention of animals with sense. For, being conversant with these fables from our childhood, and having, as it were, sucked them in with our mother's milk, we get ideas of the several animals, and can immediately say, such an one is of a noble disposition, and another of a sluggish nature, one is sportive in its manners, and another innocent. Hence the poet,† after he has said, "the destinies of men are various," or made some observation which might be sung by a chorus, retires. But Esop, by annexing an oracle to each fable, brings about the very effect which from the beginning he proposed.

C H A P. XV.

BUT, O Menippus! said Apollonius, I will tell you a story, which I learnt from my mother when a boy. Esop,

* *Ficta voluptatis causâ sint proxima veris.*

HORACE.

† Euripides's *Alcestis*.

said the good woman, was a shepherd, who fed his flock near the temple of Mercury, and loved wisdom so much, that he made it the subject of his prayers to the Gods. Mercury had many other supplicants besides Esop, who each came with a particular request. One asked for gold, another for silver : one hung an ivory caduceus on his altar, and another offered something of no less value ; Esop, poor man, had but little, and of that little he was very frugal. He made an offering of some milk, and of that only what could be drained from his sheep after being milked, and sometimes as much of a honeycomb as he could hold in his hand, added to this, he used to treat the God with myrtle berries, and roses, and a few violets. Why Mercury, he would say, should I neglect my sheep to weave garlands for you ? At last the day appointed for the distribution of wisdom arrived ; when all appeared. Mercury, the God of wisdom as well as of merchandise, thus addressed them, To you, who have made me the richest offerings, I give philosophy : and to you, who have made me the next best I give eloquence : then he said to the rest, you shall be an astronomer, you a musician : to you I give superiority in Epic poetry, and to you in Iambic verse. After he had distributed the several parts of philosophy, he found, that in spite of all his prudence, poor Esop escaped his notice. Luckily, however, he recollected a story, which, whilst he was in his cradle, the Hours, who had the care of his education on the top of mount Olympus, told him of a heifer, who in a conversation she had with a man on the subject of herself, and the earth, induced him to fall in love with the cows of Apollo ; and so he gave Esop the gift of composing fables, the only present that remained in the house of wisdom.* Mercury,

* Fontaine, in his preface says, " I do not know how it comes to pass that the ancients have not made these very fables descend from
heaven,

after presenting him with this talent, said, "Take that which I first learnt myself." Hence the rich imagination of Esop, and the power he possessed of inventing fables.

CHAP. XVI.

AFTER proposing to give some explanation of the phenomenon of mount *Ætna* more agreeable to truth and nature than the mere vulgar story, I may be accused of trifling, in indulging so much in the praise of fables: yet I hope the digression is not without its merit. The fables which we wish to reject are not in the style and manner of Esop, but in that of what are considered dramatic, and brought on the stage as the theme of poetry. The common story is, that *Typhœus*,* or *Enceladus* lies bound in chains under the mountain, and in his respirations vomits up fire. I say there are giants, and I say that their bodies have been seen wherever their tombs were opened. Though I make this assertion, I do not, however, say they ever fought with the Gods, but I assert they behaved with great irreverence in their temples and shrines. As to

heaven, and that they have not assigned them a God to have the direction of them, as well as poesy and eloquence."

Bayle says, one might have remembered the passage in the text, and yet have spoken in the same manner with Fontaine; for there never was a well established tradition in true antiquity concerning the celestial origin of the Apologue.

- * Enceladus, they say, transfix'd by Jove,
With blasted limbs, came trembling from above:
And where he fell, th' avenging father drew
This flaming hill, and on his body threw;
As often as he turns his weary sides,
He shakes the solid isle, and smoke the heavens hides.

VIRGIL, b. iii.

all that's said of their scaling the heavens and driving the Gods into exile, I think it as foolish to conceive, as it is to utter. There is another story, to which credit cannot be given though it is not so blasphemous as the last, which says, that Vulcan keeps his workshop in Ætna,* where he beats upon his anvil. There are many other burning mountains in various parts of the earth besides Ætna; and yet we are not so inconsiderate to assign their eruptions to the agency of giants and Vulcans.

CHAP. XVII.

WHAT then is the cause of these volcanic eruptions? Earth that is mixed with bitumen and sulphur, burns internally without throwing out any flame. But, whenever the earth itself happens to be full of chinks and caverns, through which the wind can penetrate, a fire is kindled within, which produces a flame that at last bursts from the mountain in streams of liquid fire, covering as it goes the adjacent land. Sometimes this fire, or lava, runs into the sea in an aggregated mass, and forms mouths like a river. Here an opportunity offers of noticing the *Campus Piorum*,† which was surrounded by a torrent of fire, from

* Vulcan's forges were supposed to be under mount Ætna in Sicily, as well as in every part of the earth where there were Volcanos.

† A plain at the foot of mount Ætna, in the territory of Catana to the south-west, in which stood the statues of two young men, who in an eruption of mount Ætna, saved their aged parents by carrying them on their shoulders.

Cornelius Severus has mentioned these two young men in his poem on mount Ætna.

Istis divitiæ solæ materque paterque,
Hanc rapiunt prædam, mediumque exire per ignem
Ipso dante fidem, properant. O maxima rerum
Et merito, pietas, homini Tutissima virtus.
Erubuere Pios Juvenes attingere flammæ, &c.

which may naturally be drawn this conclusion, that to the pious every land is safe, every sea navigable, not only to him who trusts himself to a ship, but to him who commits himself to the waves. It was thus Apollonius finished all his discourse by exhorting men to practise virtue.

CHAP. XVIII.

AFTER spending what time he thought sufficient in Sicily in philosophical discussions, he passed over into Greece about the rising of the star Arcturus.* The voyage was prosperous to Leucas, where arriving, he said, Let us leave the ship, for it is not good to sail in her to Achaia. These words made impression only on those who knew the man. He then embarked in a Leucadian vessel, and with all who chose to go with him sailed to Lechæum.† But the Syracusan ship went to the bottom in navigating the gulph of Crissa.

CHAP. XIX.

AT Athens he was initiated by the very Hierophant, whom, you may remember, he foretold to his predecessor, and here he met Demetrius the philosopher, where he had retired after what he said relative to the dedication of Nero's bath. He was a man of so much courage that he did not leave Greece at the time when Nero conducted himself so indecently at his musical exhibitions. Demetrius told him he had seen Musonius at the Isthmus,

* Pliny tells us it rose in his age about the beginning of September ; it rises now about the beginning of October.

† Lechæum—a port of Corinth in the bay of Corinth—used for their Italian trade.

bound in chains, and forced to dig. As it was natural, he says, he pitied his hard lot, and was sorry to see a man of his character digging the ground with a spade. Musonius with eyes uplifted, said, I know, Demetrius, you are troubled to see me thus employed. But, what would you have said, had you seen me playing on the harp like Nero? Many other things concerning Musonius, and some of even a more extraordinary nature I pass over, lest I should seem to take a liberty not consistent with that of a careful narrator.

CHAP. XX.

AFTER passing the winter in the Grecian temple, Apollonius determined in the following spring to go into Egypt. In visiting the several cities of Greece, he never failed giving the best advice he could to them: he found much in each to censure, and much to commend, for he never spared praise where it was due; after this he went down to the Piræus where there was a ship ready to set sail for Ionia. The merchant, who freighted the vessel for his own use, did not like taking passengers with him. Whereupon, Apollonius inquired what merchandise he had on board, and was told by the owner he carried images of the Gods to Ionia, of which some were made of gold and marble, and others of ivory and gold. Is it for the purpose of dedicating them to the Gods, said Apollonius, that you carry them, or is it for any other use? I carry them, said the merchant, to sell to any persons who may chuse to buy them. And do you apprehend, said Apollonius, we will rob you of them? I do not, returned the merchant, approve their being placed in the same ship with such a promiscuous multitude, nor do I think it right for them to hear a conversation so vicious, and yet so common among sailors. But, my good Sir, said Apol-

lonius, the vessels fitted out by you against the barbarians (for I suppose you are an Athenian) abound in all manner of licentiousness, and yet the Gods never thought themselves defiled by embarking in them. You are wrong in preventing philosophers going aboard your vessel, in whose company the Gods themselves delight, and this, at a time when you are trying to turn the Gods to the most advantage. This was not the custom of the statuaries of old, they did not run from city to city, making sale of their Gods: they carried with them only workmen and instruments, and whenever they found the raw materials of ivory and marble, they formed statues of the Gods in the temples themselves. But you carrying your Gods from port to port, and from market to market, as if they were (far be it from me to utter it) Hyrcanian or Scythian slaves, think yourselves guilty of no impiety by such a traffic? There are men also who hawk about the country little figures of Bacchus, or Ceres, and say they are maintained by the Gods they carry with them. But surely what you do, of feeding on your Gods, and of not being satisfied therewith, must be pronounced a species of horrid gain, and even of insanity too, independent of the fears naturally arising from the profanation. After this severe reprimand, he took his passage in another ship.

CHAP. XXI.

ARRIVED at Chios, Apollonius without going on shore, quickly entered into another ship, which a herald was proclaiming bound for Rhodes; and with him embarked his companions in deep silence, all seeming desirous to obey him in all things. A favourable wind soon carried them there, where I will notice some occurrences whilst he staid in that island. Once when he was viewing the statue of the Colossus, Damis asked him what he thought greater

than it? A man, said Apollonius, whose whole mind is devoted to philosophy. At this time, one Canus a flute-player* happened to be in Rhodes, who was esteemed the best performer of his day. As soon as Apollonius saw him, he said, what is a flute-player able to do? Whatever, replied Canus, his hearers wish. But, said Apollonius, more of your hearers would rather be made rich, than hear you play, Can you make those rich, whom you know wish it. No, said he, but I should wish to possess that power. Can you, continued Apollonius, make the young who hear you, beautiful? for you must know, that all who are young, would, if they could, be beautiful. Nor that, said Canus, though there is much beauty in my pipe. What therefore is it, said Apollonius, you think your hearers wish for? What else, returned Canus, than to remove their sorrow when in affliction, or increase their joy when merry; or if in love, to soothe their passion with melody, or if devout, to excite their religious zeal, and dispose them to pour it forth in spiritual songs. And is all this to be done, said Apollonius, by a pipe composed of gold and orichalcum, and the legs of a dead ass or stag? Or is it rather something else which does it? Something else undoubtedly, said Canus, and which I will tell you: The music, the modulation, the variation of notes, the change of harmony suited to produce the different effects of joy and sorrow, all these united and blended, affect the minds of the hearers, and mould them to whatever you wish. Now, said Apollonius, I understand what your art is able to do. It is a variety of sounds, and different modulations, which you practise and give to the audience. And yet in my opinion your flute requires some more helps than what you have mentioned; and what I mean, are a right

* Dr. Burney says, "the list of illustrious flute-players in antiquity is too numerous to allow a separate article to each."

inspiration of the breath, a proper application of the mouth, and a nice dexterity of the hand. The first consists in making the voice pass soft and clear without being affected by any degree of guttural hoarseness—otherwise the sound would be unmusical. The second is a just pressure of the lips on the tongue of the instrument, without its causing the cheeks to be too much swelled and inflated. The dexterity of finger (which is the third requisite to be mentioned) is what the performer must consider of the utmost importance, so that neither the wrist may decline its office from too great rigidity; nor the fingers fail in their duty from want of velocity in running over the stops, on which depend all the variations of sound: for the facility of passing from one note to another, is what is considered as the great excellence in all who possess a dexterity of hand. If you, Canus, can do all this, you need have no fears in playing on your flute—for Euterpe herself will accompany you.*

CHAP. XXII.

AT this time there was at Rhodes, a young man who became suddenly possessed of a large fortune, without having received any education. He was then building a house, and was collecting pictures and statues from all parts of the world to furnish it with. The moment Apollonius saw him, he inquired what money he had expended on preceptors and education? Not a drachma, said the youth. Pray what has your house cost you? Twelve talents, and I believe it will cost me as much more. And what, said Apollonius, will you do with

* To flute-players, nature gave brains there's no doubt,
But alas! 'tis in vain, for they soon blow them out.

Burney—Hist. of Music. From Atheneus.

this house? I will live splendidly in it, said he, for as I shall have in it places proper for all bodily exercise, and groves to walk in, there will be little or no necessity for going even into the forum, and men I think will come with as much pleasure to visit me, as they would to a temple. But, said Apollonius, are men to be respected on their own account, or on account of what they possess? They are to be respected, replied the youth, for the sake of their riches, which you know are omnipotent. But, said Apollonius, whom do you think the best guardian of riches, he who is well educated or he who is not? When the youth heard this he was silent: whereupon Apollonius said, in my opinion, Sir, you do not so much possess your house as you are possessed by it. For when I enter a temple, it matters not how small, I have greater pleasure in seeing a statue of ivory and gold, than I have in seeing in a spacious temple, one rudely formed of earth and clay.

CHAP. XXIII.

APOLLONIUS happening to meet a fat fellow, who was making his boast of the quantity he could eat and drink, said to him, are you he who is so much enslaved to his belly? I am, said he, and offer sacrifice for it. And what, said Apollonius, do you hope to gain from such a species of indulgence? That of being gazed on with wonder, said he, for I take it for granted you have heard of Hercules, and know that the food he eat was as much celebrated as his combats. It was so, said Apollonius, as he was Hercules. But what is your merit, thou abomination? for what glory can you derive from eating, except that of being burst. This is all I have to say of Apollonius at Rhodes.

CHAP XXIV.

THE following is what passed on his arrival at Alexandria, where the people loved him without ever having seen him, and were as anxious about him as if he had been their old acquaintance. The inhabitants of Upper Egypt, in consideration of their attachment to theological pursuits, wished him to pay them a visit. From the commercial intercourse subsisting between Greece and Egypt, Apollonius was at once a great favorite with everybody, and from the moment the people heard of his arrival, they were all attention. Whilst he was passing from the harbour to the town, they looked upon him as a God, and made* way for him in the narrow streets, as is done for those who carry the sacred relicks of the Gods. As he was going along in the midst of a more pompous procession than governors of provinces, he met twelve men charged with robbery, on their way to execution. When Apollonius saw them, he said, I foresee all will not suffer, for that man (pointing to one) has made a false confession. Then turning to the executioners who were conducting them, he desired them not to go so fast to the place of punishment, and bid them to take care that he to whom he pointed should be the last man to suffer; for I see, says he, he is not guilty of the crime for which he is going to die. For my part I think you would do well in postponing their execution for a short space, and whom perhaps it would be wiser not to put to death at all. In this way he protracted his discourse contrary to what he was accustomed. The event turned out as he wished. After eight of them had been beheaded, a horseman rode

* Locum date sacra ferenti. OVID.

up with speed to the place of execution, and cried out, spare Phorion, he is no robber, he confessed himself guilty of what he was innocent through fear of the torture, which has appeared from the confession of those put to the rack. I need not mention the joy of the Egyptians, nor the applauses Apollonius received from a people who, without such an instance of his foresight, were well disposed to admire and praise him.

CH A P. XXV.

WHEN he went up into the temple* a beauty shone in his face, and the words he uttered on all subjects were divine, and framed in wisdom. He approved not of the shedding of the blood of bulls nor of geese, nor of other animals, for the sacrifices of such victims he thought unbecoming the feasts of the Gods. When the Patriarch† asked him why he did not sacrifice? I would rather, said Apollonius, ask you on what motive you do. To this the Patriarch said, and who is wise enough to reform the established worship of the Egyptians? Every sage, replied the other, who comes from the Indians. But this day I will burn an ox, and I would wish you to attend and participate of its odour, as I think you would like to do it, if the Gods shew no displeasure. Whilst a bull‡ compounded of various spices was consuming in the fire, Apollonius said, behold the sacrifice. What sacrifice, said the Egyptian, for I see none here. Has not the whole race

* *The temple* is supposed to be that of Serapis, one of the Egyptian Deities, who had a very rich one at Alexandria. Consult Tacitus for the history of the God Serapis, and his first introduction into Egypt.

† The name given to the high priest of Serapis.

‡ After the example of Pythagoras and Empedocles.

of prophets down from Jamus,* Teleus,† Clytius, and Melampus,‡ been mistaken, my friend, in having said so many things of fire, and in having drawn so many oracles from it? or can you imagine that the fire proceeding from the burning of a pine or cedar, possesses a prophetic quality, and is capable of foretelling events, but that what proceeds from the burning of the tears of pure and unctuous frankincense is not far preferable? Certainly if you knew the wisdom which is latent in fire, you would be able to discover in the orb of the sun at rising,§ many prognostics. In these words he rebuked the Egyptian as one unskilled in divine matters.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE people of Alexandria being passionately fond of horses, used to flock in crowds to the Hippodrome to see them run, where they often fought till they killed each other. This abuse fell under the heavy displeasure of Apollonius, who one day in going into the temple said, how long will you persist in dying, not for your children, nor altars, nor hearths? or rather, I might say,

* *Jamidæ*, certain prophets among the Greeks, descended from Jamus, a son of Apollo, who received the gift of prophecy from his father, which remained among his posterity.

† In the text *Teleadæ*—Olearius says, I can find no prophets of this name. In Herodotus he might have found Tellias of Eleum, the soothsayer of the Phocians, who is said by Larcher, the learned translator of that historian, to have been the chief of the family of the *Telliadæ*, in which the art of divination was hereditary.

‡ *Clytiadæ*, and *Melampodidæ*—both families were very nearly connected, and celebrated for their knowledge in soothsaying, and set apart in Greece for the functions prescribed by it.

§ Sol quoque, et exoriens, et cum se condet in undas,
Signa dabit. Solim certissima signa sequuntur.

VIRGIL.

how long will you persist in defiling your temples by entering them stained with blood, and in slaughtering each other within their very walls. Troy is said to have been overturned by the means of one horse, which the Greeks had contrived with great art, but here you arm chariot against chariot, and horse against horse, for which your love is unbounded. It is not by the Atridæ nor the descendants of Æacus, you are destroyed, but by yourselves, with a loss heavier than what befel the Trojans on that night, in which they lay sunk in intemperance and debauch. In the celebration of the Olympic Games, where contests arise in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratia, no one is killed by the athletæ, even on occasions where pardon is to be obtained in case of such an event happening in the heat of combat. But with you, swords are drawn, and stones flung, and all on account of horses. Are you not afraid of fire consuming your city, wherein are heard shouts and groans, and the earth stained with the blood of the dying and the dead.* Reverence the Nile, the common cup of Egypt.† But why mention the Nile amongst men who prefer measuring‡ the rising of blood to that of its water. Damis says he added many other things to this rebuke of the Egyptians.

* Victors and vanquish'd join promiscuous cries,
And shrilling shouts, and dying groans arise;
With streaming blood the slipp'ry fields are dy'd
And slaughter'd heroes swell the dreadful tide.

HOMER, b. iv.

† The Egyptians call the Nile *the Cup*, set before them by the Gods, and Homer says,

Once more th' Egyptian stream, whose waters flow
From *Jove's high mansions*, to the plains below. OD. b. iv.

‡ How high it rises, is known, says Pliny, by marks and measures taken of certain pits.

CHAP. XXVII.

WHILST Vespasian was meditating the assumption of the imperial power in the countries bordering on Egypt, and afterwards to pass into that province, Dion and Euphrates, of whom more will be said hereafter, expected that the people would have public rejoicings. For from the time of the first emperor, by whom the affairs of Rome were well ordered, such a series of cruel tyrants succeeded each other for the space of fifty years,* as rendered Claudius (whose intermediate reign lasted about thirteen years) unfit to be ranked in the number of good princes. Claudius did not obtain the empire till he was fifty years of age, a period of life when the human mind is usually in its greatest vigour, and at this time he appeared to love the sciences. But notwithstanding his age, he suffered himself to be carried away by all the follies and passions of youth, and left the empire to be made a prey of by women by whom he was shamefully put to death, so that, though he might have foreseen what was to happen,† yet he was unable to guard against it. Apollonius was as much pleased as Dion and Euphrates, with what was going forward, but as yet did not make it a subject of public declamation, from an idea that such a mode of address became the character of a rhetorician, more than that of a philosopher. When the emperor arrived in Egypt, and was approaching the gates of Alexandria, the

* Vespasian began to take upon himself the government about the year of Christ 69, from which time to the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in the empire, was fifty-five years.

† It appears from several circumstances, says Suetonius, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it.

sacred order of the priesthood, the civil magistrates, the deputies from the prefectures, into which the country is divided, the philosophers and the sages all went out to meet him. But no part of this pompous procession engaged the attention of Apollonius, who all the time was teaching philosophy in the temple. The Emperor received them all with a short speech, which was at once gracious and benign, and then inquired whether the *Tyanean* was in these parts? They answered he was, and that he was doing all he could to make men better. Can you tell me, said the emperor, where I can find him; for I wish much to see him. You will find him, said Damis, in the temple, where, as I was coming here, he said he was going. Let us repair to it, replied the prince, first, that I may offer my prayers to the Gods,* and next, that I may converse with the excellent man. In consequence of this, it was rumoured abroad that the idea of possessing himself of the empire was first conceived, when he was besieging Jerusalem, from which he sent to ask the advice of Apollonius, who declined going into a country which its inhabitants had defiled both by what they did, and what they suffered. This is what induced him, (having now got possession of the empire)

* Of this interview all history is silent; and yet from the character of Vespasian it is probable it might have taken place. From Tacitus we learn the part Vespasian was advised to act in the pretended cure of two men at Alexandria, and as the power of working miracles is by some thought good policy, I think the same courtiers who advised him to attempt the cure of two men, might have recommended this interview with Apollonius, as a measure equally political, and also corroborative of the pretended character he had assumed. Dr. Taylor in his life of Christ, thinks Vespasian was aided by Apollonius in his impositions on the populace.—Dr. Cudworth thinks there is some reason to suspect that our *archimago* Apollonius might have had some finger in Vespasian's miracles, from his great familiarity and intimacy with him,

to take a journey into Egypt to discourse with him on subjects which I am going to notice.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

AFTER the accustomed sacrifices were performed, and before the deputies from the several cities were spoken to, Vespasian, turning to Apollonius, said with the voice of a suppliant, *make me emperor*. Apollonius answered, it's done already: for in the prayers which I have just offered to heaven to send us a prince upright, generous, wise, venerable in years, and a true father, you are the man I asked from the Gods. With this answer the emperor being well pleased (for all the people shouted with joy at what they heard) said, May I ask you, Apollonius, what opinion you formed of the government of Nero? He replied, Nero knew, perhaps, how to tune his harp, but he disgraced his authority by too much remissness at one time, and too much intenseness at another. Then you think, said Vespasian, that an emperor should observe the golden mean in the government of an empire. It's not I, said Apollonius, but God himself who has defined equity by the term mediocrity. However, in these matters you have very good advisers, pointing to Dion and Euphrates, for as yet he had had no cause of dispute with the latter. Whereupon, the emperor, lifting up his hands to heaven, says, O Jupiter! Grant me to govern wise men, and wise men to govern me. Afterwards turning to the Egyptians, he cries out, Draw from me as you do from the Nile. In this

* Vespasian ne vint point à Alexandrie pour voir Apollone; mais pour affamer la ville de Rome en empêchant qu'on y portât du Bled, comme Tacite le rapporte.

manner Egypt got some time to breathe from the weight of oppression under which she groaned.

CHAP. XXIX.

AS the Emperor was coming down from the temple, he gave Apollonius his hand, and leading him into the palace, said, Some people may possibly think I act too much like a young man in aspiring to the purple at the age of sixty: but I will justify it to you, that you may justify it to others. In my youth I do not recollect being a slave to riches; and I bore the offices and dignities conferred on me by the government of Rome so meekly, as not to have been thereby either too much elated, or too much dejected. Against Nero I never attempted any alteration in the state of affairs, but, on the contrary, when he came to the empire, which he received from his predecessor, (though not according to the established laws) I was submissive to authority on account of Claudius, who made me consul, and one of his counsellors. I swear by Minerva, that the tears have often run down my cheeks when I thought of him* to whom he bequeathed the empire. But now that Nero is dead, and that affairs are not altered for the better, but on the contrary are as likely to be as ill, if not worse managed in the hands of Vitellius, I confess I came forward with a greater degree of ardour to take the direction of them, first, because I wish to pursue a conduct which may make myself estimable among men, and next, because in the prosecution of my object I have to contend only with a man who is sunk in every species of debauchery. Vitellius uses more perfume in his bath than I do water; and it is supposed, that if wounded, he would yield more perfume

* Nero.

than blood. Besides, he makes himself mad with the quantity of wine he drinks, and plays at dice as if afraid of losing a throw; but the whole empire he sets at hazard, as if a matter of common sport and diversion. Though the slave of his courtesans, he intrigues with married women, and says, that amours are sweet in proportion to the difficulties attending them. A thousand other traits I omit more disgraceful than what I have mentioned, and which are neither fit for you, nor the Roman people to hear, whilst groaning under the yoke of such a monster. In my present undertaking I wish to act under the guidance of the Gods, and like myself. On you, Apollonius, I chiefly found my hopes of success, as I know you are well acquainted with whatever regards the Gods, and for that reason I make you my friend and counsellor in all those concerns, on which depend the affairs of sea and land. For if omens, favourable to my wishes, are given from the Gods, I will go on: if they are not propitious to me and the Roman people, I will stop where I am, and engage no farther in an enterprise unsanctioned by heaven.

CHAP. XXX.

AFTER this discourse Apollonius, like one divinely inspired, said, O Jupiter Capitolinus, who are supreme judge in the present crisis of affairs, act mutually for each other, keep yourself for Vespasian, and keep Vespasian for you.* The temple which was burnt yesterday by impious hands is decreed by the fates to be rebuilt by you. On Vespasian's seeming amazed at this, he said, "These things will be explained hereafter. Fear nought from me. Go on with what you have so wisely begun." At this

* Tacitus, b. iii. c. 69-70, History.

time Domitian, the son of Vespasian, was up in arms against Vitellius at Rome, in defence of his father's authority. The youth was besieged in the capitol, and in making his escape from the hands of the besiegers, the temple was burnt, the account of which reached Apollonius before it did any other man in Egypt. In the midst of this conversation, Apollonius departed suddenly from the Emperor, saying, the laws and customs of the Indians permitted him only to do what was by them prescribed. However, Vespasian, whose zeal was only redoubled by what he heard from Apollonius, suffered not the tide in his affairs to pass by unheeded, but looked on all things as now fixed and established by it.

CHAP. XXXI.

EARLY the next morning, about break of day, Apollonius entered the palace, and asked the officers in waiting how the Emperor was employed? who said, he had been for some time employed in writing letters. As soon as Apollonius heard this, he went away, saying to Damis, "This man will certainly be Emperor." At sun-rise he returned again, when he found Dion and Euphrates in the anti-chamber, both longing to know the result of the conference of the preceding day. He then gave them the apology which he had from the Emperor's own mouth, concerning which he declined delivering his own private opinion. Being the first admitted to see the Emperor, he said, Dion and Euphrates, your old friends, are at the door—men attached to your interest, and not unmindful of the present posture of affairs. Call them in, I pray you, for they are both wise. To wise men, replied Vespasian, my doors are always open; but to you, Apollonius, my heart likewise.

CHAP. XXXII.

WHEN Dion and Euphrates were introduced, the Emperor thus addressed them: Yesterday I made my apology, in the presence of this excellent man, Apollonius. We have heard it, replied Dion, and think it not destitute of reason. To-day, continued Vespasian, we shall philosophize, friend Dion, concerning what are to be our future plans of conduct, in order that every thing may be fortunate, and turn out to the public good. I have first considered the character of Tiberius, and can only think of him as a man who changed the government into a wild and cruel tyranny. When I call to mind Caius, who succeeded him, I think of one under the dominion of the most unbridled passions; who clothed after the fashion of the Lydians, and victorious in wars which never existed,* defiled the empire by a bacchanalian insanity. When I remember that good man Claudius, I only remember a man who, stupified by women, forgot both the empire and himself, and died, as was reported, by their hands. After this, when I look to Nero, what am I to say of him? It has been comprised by Apollonius in one short and comprehensive sentence, which he uttered concerning the intemperance and remissness by which he disgraced the empire. What shall I say of the commotions stirred up by Galba, and of his being murdered in the middle of the forum, after having adopted Otho and Piso, both sons of a common prostitute?† For my part, if the empire is to be conceded to such a man as Vitellius, the most abominable

* Such was his war with the Germans, for which he was seven times proclaimed Emperor; and such his expedition to Britain, which ended in nothing but the gathering of shells on the sea-shore.

† Why he calls them so I do not understand; for neither the one nor the other were so born.

of all his predecessors, I should think it better that Nero returned again to life. Taking, then, my friends, into consideration the several kinds of tyranny that have disgraced the state, I appoint you my counsellors, to advise what are the means most proper for meliorating a government rendered so deservedly odious. What you have said, says Apollonius, puts me in mind of a musician, a man of great celebrity in his profession, who used to send his pupils to hear the most unskilful performers, that they might learn from them how they ought not to play. And now, O prince! you have learnt how you ought not to govern from your predecessors, who have governed so ill; but as to the way you ought to govern, we shall now consider.

CHAP. XXXIII.

EUPHRATES began now to entertain a secret jealousy of Apollonius, from seeing the Emperor as much devoted to him as votaries are to the shrine of a favourite oracle. Incensed at this preference, he, in an angry tone of voice, raised above its usual pitch, said, It is not right to flatter the ambition of any man, nor to suffer ourselves to be carried away, contrary to reason, by people who act without any: on the contrary, we ought to bring them back to reason, if we are worthy the name of philosophers. Our first duty should have been to consider whether such or such an enterprise was to be undertaken: instead of which we are summoned to say how we should act, without being consulted whether it is proper to act or not. I think Vitellius should be put out of the way; for I know him to be abominable, and sunk in every kind of debauchery. Though I know you to be a man, and possessed of the most generous feelings, I do not think it would have been becoming in you to have animadverted on his con-

duct without first knowing what was your own duty. The evils adhering to a monarchical form of government I need not enumerate, for you have given us an ample display of them. What I wish you to know is this—that when a young man aspires to sovereignty, he acts in a way agreeable to his youth, as he does when he loves wine or women: in wishing to obtain the empire, he is not accounted wicked unless he is guilty of murder, or cruelty, or some impurity in the steps taken to effect his purpose. But on the other hand, when an old man possesses himself of the sovereign power, the first blame which attaches to him is, for desiring such a situation; and though he may be of a gentle quiet nature, the world will ascribe it only to the maturity of his years; for they will say, he ambitiously courted it from his youth, but without success. Failures in such attempts are sometimes set down to the account of adverse fortune, and sometimes to that of pusillanimity. The natural conclusion arising from which will be, that he either neglected the object of his ambition from having not trusted to his fortune, or having without a struggle given way to the tyranny of another, from a dread of his superior courage. What might be said on the subject of bad fortune we shall pass over in silence; but the ignominy arising from pusillanimity, how is that to be done away? especially, as by it you seem to have feared Nero, who was of all poor creatures the most timid and wretched. I know you were considered the author of all the attempts made against him by Vindex, as you were then at the head of the army, and commanded those troops which were marching against the Jews, and which would have been better employed against Nero; for the Jews, from the beginning, were not only aliens to the Romans, but to all mankind, and lived separate from the rest of the world. They had neither food nor libations, nor prayers, nor sacrifices, in common with other men, and were greater strangers to us than the people of Susa or Boetica, or the

farthest Indians. To punish such aliens to mankind was unfitting; it had been better, I think, not even to have had them as subjects. But for Nero—is there a man alive that did not wish to dispatch him with his own hand? a man drinking up, as it were, human blood, and singing in the midst of slaughter. For myself, my ears were ever open to all that concerned you. And whenever a messenger arrived, with an account of thirty thousand Jews being slaughtered by you in one battle, or fifty thousand in another, I used to take the courier aside, and ask him, when alone, “But what is Vespasian doing? Is he thinking of nothing greater than this? Now that Vitellius is become the express image of what Nero was, and that you are engaged in war against him, finish what you have begun, seeing that such things are worthy of praise. As to what is to be done hereafter, let it be this: The Romans prefer a popular state to all others, because under it they acquired all their greatness. Put an end to the monarchy, of which you have spoken so much, and give to the Romans popular power, and to yourself the glory of having restored to them their liberty.

CHAP. XXXIV.

WHILST Euphrates was haranguing in this manner, Apollonius looking on Dion, who assented to all he heard, and expressed his assent by frequent marks of applause, said, Will not you, Dion, say something in addition to the observations which have been made? I will, replied he; and what I have to add shall be partly agreeable to it, and partly not. I think I have already told you, Vespasian, that it would have been better to have destroyed Nero, than to have reduced the Jews to obedience; but instead of doing that, you seem to have acted like one who strove to prevent it; for certainly he who quelled whatever insur-

rections were excited against him, served to supply him with the means of opposing all those who groaned under his tyranny. The war against Vitellius meets my approbation, because I think it more glorious to destroy a tyranny in its infancy, than when grown to manhood. I like a popular form of government; for though it be inferior to an aristocracy, the more knowing have preferred it to the monarchical and oligarchical forms. But I fear the Romans are not able to make such a change, from being so accustomed to the power of one. I am apprehensive they have not virtue enough to emancipate themselves, and cannot look a republic in the face, like people who, emerging from darkness, are unable to bear the light. Hence I think Vitellius should be removed from the administration of affairs in the most speedy and effectual way possible, and at the same time that every preparation should be made for war; and yet war is not what ought to be made, but punishment inflicted if he does not immediately strip himself of the purple. After conquering him, which I think will be easily done, give the Romans the opportunity and the power of chusing what form of government they please; and if they prefer a popular state, allow them to do it. This will be more to your honour than the possession of many empires, or the gaining of many Olympic victories. And in whatever clime monuments of brass shall be erected to your honour, your name will supply eloquence with more materials for praise than were ever supplied by the names of Harmodius or Aristogiton. And should the people chuse a monarchy, to whom can they give that power in preference to you? for in giving up that of which you are in possession, they will give it back to you in preference to all other men.

CHAP. XXXV.

WHEN silence ensued, the countenance of the Emperor expressed the conflict passing in his mind; for considering that he had spoken and acted as Emperor, what he heard seemed as if meant to divert him from his purpose. Whereupon Apollonius said, You both seem to me to err in endeavouring to make the Emperor waver in a matter on which his heart is set, by using a style of conversation at once unseasonable, and like that of children; for if I was possessed of what power he has, and was asked what good I could do with it, and were you to advise me as you have done Vespasian, it is more than probable you would bring me over to your opinion. The opinions of philosophers are of use alone to hearers who love philosophy. But you should now take into consideration that you address a man vested with full consular power, one who has long filled the very highest offices, and who, if divested of his authority, has every thing to fear. What, is he to be blamed for not rejecting what fortune throws in his way, or for receiving what she holds out, or for taking counsel how he should use it with moderation and prudence! Suppose, for instance, we were to see an athleta possessed of courage, of a goodly stature, of a symmetry and texture of limbs sufficient to dispute the prize at the Olympic Games, on his way to Arcadia, and should advise him to behave well; and after gaining the victory, suppose we were to counsel him not to let it be proclaimed by the common crier, or have his head crowned with parsley; if, I say, we were to act so, we should appear like simpletons, making a mockery of others' toils. Let us, therefore, out of consideration to the character of the man, the number of his troops, and their excellent discipline, and to the wisdom by which he has formed all

his plans, leave him to follow his own genius, and pray for his having good omens, and every thing which may ensure success. Moreover, you appear as if you had forgotten that he is the father of two sons, each at the head of an army, but who both would become his bitterest enemies if they were not sure of receiving the empire at his death. What, then, is left for him, except a war with his own family? On the other hand, suppose he succeeds in obtaining the empire, he will be respected by his sons: he will depend on them, and they will depend on him as their stay and support. Then he will find the natural guardians of his throne, and not mercenaries forced into allegiance: he will find them not pretending to appear dutiful, but attached and zealous in his service. As to myself, it is of little consequence what form of government is established, as I live under that of the Gods. Yet I should be sorry to see mankind perish, like a flock of sheep, for want of a wise and faithful shepherd. For as one man, who excels in virtue, modifies the popular state of a republic, so as to make it appear as if governed by a single individual, in the same manner a state under the government of such a man, wherein all things are directed to the common good, is what is properly called popular, or that of the people. I know, Euphrates said, you did not destroy Nero. Nor did you, Euphrates; nor you, Dion; nor did I do it myself: yet it is not charged to us as a fault, nor are we considered as cowards for not having done something in the cause of liberty, though other philosophers have extirpated so many tyrannies. As to myself, I resisted the power of Nero, whilst under the most unjust accusations, and I opposed the cruel Tigellinus to his beard. In the assistance I gave Vindex, I aimed a blow against the power of Nero, but I will not on that account assert I put down the tyrant, nor proclaim you for not having done so, more effeminate than what is becoming the character of philosophers. A philosopher, I know, may utter whatever he

pleases; at the same time I think he will take care not to utter any thing contrary to reason and prudence. When a man of consular authority meditates a blow against a tyrant, he should take care not to engage in such a business till the enemy was off his guard; and next, to have the best possible pretext for avoiding every appearance of perjury. He who takes up arms against a man who commands an army, to whom his subjects are bound by their oaths of allegiance to do all they can in his defence, should first justify himself in the eyes of the Gods, in order to secure their approbation in case of violating his oath. He should next have many friends, for such high objects are not to be effected without great assistance; and he should have money to secure the powerful, where the object to be attacked is master of the world. Consider, then, what delays and time it will take to do all this. However, resolve on all these things as you please: for our part we will make no inquiry concerning them, from an idea that the Emperor himself has well considered the state of them in his own mind, and found all seconded by good fortune, independent of his own efforts. But what will you say to the following reflexion? He who was Emperor yesterday, and received the crown from several cities in these temples, and published laws by the voice of the common cryer with as much celebrity as justice, is the very man whom you now command, by the voice of the same cryer, to declare he will for the rest of his life live as a private man, because he invaded the empire without due consideration. If he had accomplished his enterprise, he would have found faithful friends in all his first advisers; if he changes his mind, he will find in them obstinate enemies.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE Emperor approved of what he heard, and said, If, Apollonius, you had been in my breast, you could not

have better expressed my feelings. I will follow your advice, as I think every word you have uttered is divine. Tell me, then, I pray thee, what a good prince ought to do. What you ask, said Apollonius, I cannot teach; for the art of government, of all human acquisitions, is the most important, but cannot be taught. However, I will tell you what, if you do, you will in my opinion do wisely. Look not on that as wealth which is piled up in heaps, for what is it better than a heap of sand? nor on that which arises from taxes,* which men pay with tears, for the *gold so paid lacketh lustre, and is black*. You will make a better use of your riches than ever sovereign did, if you employ them in supplying the necessities of the poor, and securing the property of the rich. Fear the power of doing every thing you wish, for under this apprehension you will use it with more moderation. Do not lop away such ears of corn as are tall and most conspicuous, for herein the maxim of Aristotle is unjust: but harshness and cruelty of disposition weed out of your mind, as you would tares and darnel out of your corn. Shew yourself terrible to all innovators in the state, yet not so much in the actual infliction of punishment, as in the preparation for it. Acknowledge the law to be the supreme rule of your conduct; for you will be more mild in the making of laws, when you know you are to be subject to them yourself. Reverence the Gods more than ever, for you have received great things at their hands, and have still much to ask. In what concerns the public, act like a prince; and in what relates to yourself, like a private man. In what light you ought to consider the love of gambling, of wine

* When his son Titus blamed him for the tax he had laid upon urine, he applied to his nose a piece of the money received in the first payment, and asked him, "Num odore offenderetur?" But it appears, when he opened his financial budget, he forgot his friend Apollonius's advice.

and women, I need not to speak to you, who from your youth never liked them. You have two sons, both, according to report, of good dispositions; keep them, I pray you, under strict discipline, for their faults will be charged to your account. Use authority, and even threats, if necessary; and let them know that the empire is to be considered not as a matter of common right, but as the reward of virtue; and that it is to be their inheritance only by a perseverance in well-doing. Pleasures become, as it were, denizens of Rome, are many in number, and should be restrained with great discretion; for it is a hard matter to bring over at once an entire people to a regular mode of living. It is only by degrees a spirit of moderation can be instilled into the mind, and it is to be done sometimes by a public correction, and sometimes by one so private as to conceal the hand which does it. Suppress the pride and luxury of the freed men and slaves under your subjection, and let them understand that their modesty should keep pace with their master's greatness. I have but one more observation to make, and that relates to the governors sent out to rule the several provinces of the empire. I do not mean such governors as you will send out yourself (for you will only employ the deserving) but those who are chosen by lot; for the men so sent out ought to be suited (as far as can be made consistent with that mode of election) to the several countries over which they are appointed to preside. They who understand Greek should be sent to Greece; and they who understand Latin, to such countries as use that language. I will now tell you why I say this. Whilst I was in Peloponnesus, the governor of that province *knew nothing of Greek*, nor did the people know any thing of him. Hence arose innumerable mistakes; for the people in whom he confided, suffered him to be corrupted in the distribution of justice, and to be treated more like a slave than the governor. I have said now what has occurred to me to-day; if any thing else occurs, we

shall resume the conversation at another time. At present discharge your duty to the republic, to the end you may not appear more indulgent to those under your authority than what is consistent with that duty.

CHAP. XXXVII.

UPON this Euphrates said,* I agree to every thing proposed; for what else can I do when the masters have spoken? But, O King, (for still one observation remains to be made) approve and countenance that philosophy which is consonant to nature, and shun that which affects to carry on a secret intercourse with celestial beings; for they who entertain such unsound notions of the Gods, fill us with nothing but pride and vanity. This, you see, was directly levelled against Apollonius, who, without condescending to make any reply, departed with his companions the moment he ended his discourse. But when the Emperor perceived that Euphrates was going to take greater liberties with the character of Apollonius, he interposed, and said, Introduce such magistrates as are to enter into office, and let my council take some form. It was thus that Euphrates hurt himself by his imprudence with the Emperor, who ever after looked on him as a jealous meddling man, who spoke in favour of democracy, not according to his own sentiments, but as he thought they would be in opposition to Apollonius. Notwithstanding

* Euphrates is several times, says Lardner, mentioned by Philostratus: but it has been observed by learned men, that Euphrates has a good character from the younger Pliny, and from Epictetus, who have never mentioned Apollonius, and from Eunapius. Eusebius has made just remarks upon the differences between Apollonius and Euphrates, and fails not to observe, that Euphrates was in his time a very celebrated philosopher, who continued long in great esteem.

the Emperor did not remove him from his councils, nor shew him any mark of his displeasure. He continued to love Dion, though he did not approve of his being of the same opinion with Euphrates. Dion deserved to be loved, as he was a man affable in conversation, an enemy to all disputes, and who in his discourse instilled that pleasantness which is breathed from the perfumes in a sacrifice: in short, of all men living he was the readiest in speech and the quickest in reply. But Vespasian loved Apollonius, and had great delight in hearing him talk of what antiquities he saw in his travels, of the Indian Phraotes, of the rivers and wild beasts found in India, and, above all, when he spoke of what was to be the future state of the Roman world, as communicated to him by the Gods. As soon, however, as the affairs of Egypt were settled, he determined on taking his departure; but before he did so he expressed a wish that Apollonius should go with him, which was declined on his part, as he said he had not seen Egypt as he ought, nor as yet conversed with the Gymnosophists. He added, that he was desirous to compare the learning of the Egyptians with that of the Indians, and to drink of the source of the Nile. When the Emperor understood he was determined on making a journey into Ethiopia, he said, Will you not remember me? I will, said Apollonius, if you continue to be a good prince, and to be mindful of us.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

AS soon as all the proper sacrifices were performed, the Emperor gave Apollonius leave publicly to ask what presents he chose. Apollonius, like one who seemed disposed to make full use of his permission, said, And what presents do you mean to give me, O King? Ten talents at this time, said the Emperor, and all I have when you come

to Rome. Then, said Apollonius, I will be as careful of what you have, as if it was my own, and will not be prodigal of what must one day be mine; at the same time, I request, O Emperor! you may attend to these men, who will not despise your gifts; in saying this he particularly glanced at Euphrates. Whereupon, Vespasian bid both Euphrates and Dion ask boldly what they wished. On hearing this, Dion blushed, and said, reconcile me to my master Apollonius, for having contradicted him, but it was the first time of my life. The Emperor praised him for this acknowledgment, and said, I asked the favour yesterday, and it is done: now demand whatever you please. To this, Dion replied, Lasthenes of Apamea, a town in Bithynia, formerly studied philosophy with me; afterwards a passion for the uniform of a soldier and a military life took possession of him; he now wishes, I hear, to return to his philosophical pursuits, and all the request I make, is, that he may get his discharge, since he desires it. You will not, I am sure, refuse me the indulgence of contributing to make him a good man, nor him the liberty of living in what manner he pleases. The moment the Emperor heard it, he said, Let him be discharged, but first let him receive the rewards due to the *Emeriti*,* because he loves you and philosophy. Afterwards he turned to Euphrates, who had put his memorial in writing, which he gave to the Emperor to read when alone; but Vespasian, anxious to give Apollonius and all present an opportunity of canvassing it, read it aloud. It appeared from the memorial, that Euphrates made several requests, of which some were relative to himself and some to other people; but all had money, either directly or indirectly, for

* When the soldiers had served out their time, the foot twenty years, and the horse ten, they were called *Emeriti*, and obtained their discharge.

their object. Apollonius only smiled, and said, And how came you, Euphrates, to speak so much in favour of a republican form of government, who had so much to ask from a monarch? This is all I could find touching the subject of difference subsisting between Apollonius and Euphrates.

CHAP. XXXIX.

AFTER the Emperor's departure from Egypt, Euphrates and Apollonius came to an open rupture; the former gave full vent to his passion without sparing any reproaches, the latter conducted himself like a philosopher, and answered all that he said with the coolest reason. The cause of the altercation may be collected from the letters of Apollonius to Euphrates, of which many are still extant; it appears from them to have arisen from Euphrates not having acted in a manner becoming a philosopher. As to myself, I will dismiss the man, for it is not my business to blame him, but to make those acquainted with the life of Apollonius who were before ignorant of it. In regard to what is said of a billet of wood (with which it appears Euphrates threatened him, without daring to throw it) the forbearance he shewed on that occasion is ascribed by many to the commanding influence of Apollonius; however it was, I give the credit of it to his good sense, by which he subdued that anger which had almost subdued him.

CHAP. XL.

APOLLONIUS thought Dion's philosophy savoured too much of the rhetorician, and was too much adapted to the ear; and for this he rebukes him in his epistles, in

these words, "Use your flute and lyre to flatter your hearers with, and not your eloquence." Besides, in many passages of his letters to Dion, he blames the affected ornaments of his style, and the arts he used to catch the attention of the people.

CHAP. XLI.

I SHALL now explain the cause why Apollonius ceased visiting and conferring with the Emperor after this interview, though often invited and written to for that purpose. Nero gave liberty to Greece, and performed a work more glorious than what was expected from the general tenor of his character. The consequence was, that the towns flourished and resumed their ancient attic and doric manners: to which may be added, that a harmony sprung up among them unknown even in their best days. Of this liberty, that produced such good effects, Vespasian deprived them, under the pretence of some disturbance or other which did not require such a mark of his displeasure. All this was considered by the sufferers, and Apollonius, in a light more severe than what was becoming a government founded on justice and equity. Hence the following letters to the Emperor.

"Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian, health.

"You have enslaved Greece, as fame says, by which you imagine you have done more than Xerxes, without calling to mind that you have sunk yourself below Nero, who freely renounced that which he had. Farewel."

To the same.

"You who have, in anger to the Greeks, reduced a free people to slavery, what need have you of my conversation? Farewel."

To the same.

“Nero in sport gave liberty to Greece, of which you in seriousness have deprived them, and reduced them to slavery. Farewel.”

Insinuations such as these, caused the misunderstanding between Apollonius and Vespasian. Yet when he heard that in all other respects he governed his people well, he did not hide his joy, as he considered much was gained by his accession to the empire.

CHAP. XLII.

AMONG the wonderful things done by Apollonius, we are not to omit what follows. There was a certain man had a tame lion, whom he led about with a string like a dog. This lion used to fawn not only on his keeper, but on all who came near him. He walked with him through the several towns, and went with him into the temples, a liberty with which he was indulged as he came under the description of clean animals. He never would lick the blood of victims, nor touch their flesh, even when they were skinned and cut into pieces; but his delight was in cakes of honey, and in bread, and confectionary of all kinds, and dressed meats. One day, as Apollonius was sitting in the temple, the lion approached him,* fawning on his knees, and paying him more attention than any other person, all which the spectators supposed was done to get something to eat. Apollonius, on this, said, the lion wishes me to inform you whose soul it is that animates him. It is the soul of Amasis, who was formerly

* This story of the lion brings to our remembrance the accounts given in the life of Pythagoras of the Daunian bear and the Tarentum ox; and is another instance of his strict adherence to the Metempsychosis of Pythagoras.

King of Egypt in the district of Sais. The moment the lion heard this, he roared in a piteous strain, couching on his knees, and bursting into tears at the same time. Whereupon, Apollonius treating him with kindness, said, He should be sent to Leontopolis,* and there placed in the temple, as methinks it is unbecoming a King, though transformed into the most royal of beasts, to wander up and down the world like a mendicant. In consequence of this, the priests met, and offered sacrifice to Amasis; then dressing out the lion with collars and garlands, they sent him into the interior parts of Egypt, accompanying him all the way with the sound of flutes, the singing of hymns and verses made for the occasion.†

CHAP. XLIII.

APOLLONIUS, staying as long as he thought necessary at Alexandria, determined to visit the Upper Egypt, in order to converse with the Gymnosophists. Menippus, one of the number of those who, after completing their term of silence, were entitled to address others themselves, was left behind to watch Euphrates. Dioscorides, whose constitution was unable to bear the fatigues of a long journey, was advised by Apollonius not to go. He then assembled the rest (for though many deserted him at Aricia,‡ many had joined him since) with whom he talked of the journey he was about to undertake, in the following manner. “I

* A town of the lower Egypt, in the Delta, on that branch of the Nile called Busiriticus, and denominated so from the lions there kept as objects of religious worship—at this day Tellessabè, or Hill of the Lion.

† Voila (says Du Pin, at the conclusion of this tale) la plus extravagante fable qu'on puisse imaginer.

‡ Where he stopt on his way to Rome in the time of Nero.

think it right, my friends, to use an Olympic exordium with you. The people of Elis (on the approach of the Olympic Games) exercise their *athletæ* for the space of thirty days in their own town. The people of Delphi and Corinth, at the celebration of their respective games, address all those who are to contend at them in this manner, "Enter the stadium, and shew yourselves men worthy of victory." The Eleans, when come to Olympia, thus address the *athletæ*, "You, who have endured labours fit for the men who come to Olympia, and have not been guilty of any mean or illiberal action—go on boldly: but ye who are not so qualified, go where you please." Such of his disciples as understood the force of this address, of whom the number amounted to twenty, remained behind with Menippus* at Alexandria. The remainder, whose number did not exceed ten, after offering their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods for a good journey, set out towards the Pyramids, mounted on camels, with the Nile on their right. They went in boats, at times, in order to see all that was worth their notice. No city, or temple, or sacred spot, in Egypt, was passed by unobserved. An interchange of knowledge every where took place between them and such learned Egyptians as they happened to meet. The vessel in which Apollonius sailed on the Nile, resembled the sacred galley of legation.†

* Whom Apollonius left at Alexandria, to watch the motions of Euphrates.

† *Θεωρίς*—the name given to the ship in which the Athenians made their annual procession to Delos.

BOOK VI.—CONTENTS.

Description of Ethiopia—Apollonius visits the Gymnosophists—Conversation with them—An Account of the Nile, and its Cataracts—His Letter to Titus after the taking of Jerusalem—Return to Greece—Interview with Titus at Argos.

CHAP. I.

ETHIOPIA occupies the most western wing of all the land situate immediately under the sun's rays, as India does the most eastern. Near Meroe, it borders on Egypt, from whence stretching as far as Lybia Deserta, it terminates in the sea called by the poets, the Ocean, under which appellation is comprehended all the sea which surrounds the earth. It gives Egypt the Nile, which rising from Catadupa, carries down from Ethiopia all that mud and slime which we may say form the land of Egypt. Neither Ethiopia, nor any other much celebrated part of the continent can be compared in magnitude with India. Nay, if all Egypt was added to Ethiopia, (which I think, is done by the Nile) both of them together would not be equal in magnitude to the vast extent of India. The rivers, however, in each, are alike, if any one will take the trouble of comparing the peculiar phenomena of the Nile and Indus.* Both have their inundations in that season of the year when the land requires it most. Of all the rivers

* That rains fall in Ethiopia as well as in India, Arrian says in his Indian History, he has no reason to doubt, seeing in all other respects, India so much resembles it.

we know, they alone have the crocodile and the hippopotamus; and the account given of their religious ceremonies, is similar in both, for what are performed on the banks of the one river, are performed on those of the other. That the nature of the soil in the two countries is alike, appears from their producing the same kinds of spices; as also the lion and elephant, of which the latter is taken, and put to servile offices. In them we find wild beasts and black men,* that are to be found no where else. In both, we meet with pygmies and cynocephali,† who possess different modes of barking, and other marvellous things besides. The griffons of India, and the ants of Ethiopia, though not exactly shaped alike, are possessed of the same instinct, according to the account given of them. In both countries, they are the guardians of the gold, and attached to the soil which produces it. Of these things I shall say no more, but return to Apollonius, who is the subject of our history.

CHAP. II.

WHEN Apollonius arrived on the confines of Ethiopia and Egypt, at a place called Sicaminus,‡ he found gold

* The natives of India and Ethiopia are not much different in their features and complexion. ARRIAN.

† Though Philostratus is pleased here only to call the cynocephali *barkers*, and to reckon them, as he does, *black men*, and *the pygmies* among the wild beasts of those countries; yet Ctesias, from whom Philostratus has borrowed a great deal of his natural history, styles them *men*, and makes them speak, and to perform most notable feats in merchandising. *Tyson's Inquiry concerning Pygmies.*

Tyson's design is to shew, that not only the *pygmies*, but the *cynocephali*, and *satyrs*, and *sphinges*, were only *apes* and *monkeys*, and not *men*.

‡ *Sicaminus* is called by Ptolemy, *σικαμινος*, and he is the only geographer, I find, who mentions it, and which he does immediately after

in wedges unstamped, and flax, and ivory, with several kinds of aromatic roots, perfumes and spices: all which lay piled up in heaps, in a place where four ways meet, without any guard whatever set over them. This must be accounted for,* as the custom remains even unto our days. The Ethiopians bring to sale the chief productions of their country; and the merchants of Egypt, who come to purchase, bring in return, to the same place, such of their goods as are considered equivalent in value; and with them, of which they have a superfluity, they buy what they most stand in need of. The people inhabiting the frontiers of the two countries, are not quite black, but of a complexion partaking of each; they are not so black as the Ethiopians, but blacker than the Egyptians. When Apollonius understood how the commerce of these nations was carried on, he said, our good friends the Greeks suppose they could not live, if Obolus did not beget Obolus, and if the goods they brought to market, (and which are most carefully guarded,) did not produce an enormous profit in their sordid dealings. And this species of traffic is carried on under such considerations as the following, namely, one man saying he has a daughter to marry, another, that he has a son just come of age, a third, that he has a large

after noticing the *nomos* of Thebes, and Elethya. The next stage from Syenè is called Hiera *Sycaminus*, a sycamore tree. Travellers, says Bruce, in journeying through Egypt, must be obliged to take up their quarters under a tree for want of towns.

* A custom similar to this prevailed among the Seres, who, as Pliny says, avoid the company of all men at the very time they are desirous of entering into commercial dealings with them. On this passage, there is a marginal note in Philemon. Holland's translation of Pliny's Nat. Hist. to the following effect, "Even at this day they set abroad their wares with the prices, upon the shore, and goe their waes: then the forain merchants come, and lay down the money, and have away the merchandise: and so depart without any communication at all."

sum of money to pay, a fourth, that he has a house to build, and the last of all declaring that it would be scandalous in him, a merchant, not to die richer than his father. How happy would it be for the world if riches were not held in such estimation? and if equality of rank flourished more than it does. Iron would remain black, if men lived in harmony and good will; and the whole earth would appear like one great family.

CHAP. III.

WHILST Apollonius talked according to his custom, as the casual circumstances of the moment administered to his discourse, he entered the district of Memnon.* His guide happened to be a young Egyptian, of whom Damis gives the following account. His name, he says, was Timasion, a youth of great beauty, who had just passed the age of puberty. He was, besides, of singular chastity; but his step-mother, who had fallen in love with him, and was unsuccessful in her passion, had kindled his father's anger against him. The charges she brought against him were of a different nature from those alledged against Hippolytus by Phædra; in short, she accused him of being a Pathic, as one who delighted more in the company of men than women. This was the cause of the young man's quitting the town of Naucratis,† in which the aforesaid transaction happened, and settling near Memphis, where he bought a miserable skiff, with which he plied as a boatman on the Nile. Whilst in this employment, he saw Apollonius sailing up the river; as soon

* Memnonius nomos—called Memnonium, which formed a part of the city of Thebes, in the higher Egypt, on the west side of the Nile.

† Naucratis, a town of Egypt on the left side of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, built by the Milesians. It gave birth to Athenæus.

as he perceived that the vessel was full of sages, a circumstance which he conjectured by their singular garb, and the books they had in their hands, he asked leave to be one of their number, as a lover of wisdom. Whereupon Apollonius said, the youth is of a good character, and deserves what he asks, and then in a low tone of voice, he gave those near him an account of his step-mother's conduct, whilst the young man was doing all he could to get near the boat. As soon as the boats approached, Timasion jumped into Apollonius's one, and after a few words to his own pilot respecting freight, &c. saluted him and his companions. Apollonius requested him to sit opposite to him, and addressed him in the following manner: Young Egyptian (for you are, I suppose of this country,) tell us the good and evil of your life, that you may be pardoned for any thing you have done wrong by reason of your youth, and praised for what you have done well; and may philosophize with me and my friends. When Apollonius discovered that the youth blushed, and changed colour, at one time as if disposed to speak, and at another as if not, he the more urged his request, just as if he had no foreknowledge of his character. The youth, as soon as he recovered a little his presence of mind, cried out, O ye Gods! what shall I say of myself? I am not wicked, and yet I know not whether I can call myself good, as little or no praise can attach to the negative virtue of not having acted ill. Excellently observed, said Apollonius, you speak as if instructed by the Indians, as if you had learnt that sentiment from the lips of the divine Iarchas himself; for it is his own. But how, or from whom have you received such opinions? for you appear as if afraid to offend. When the youth began to speak of his step-mother, and of the resistance he made to her passion, a shout was raised by all present, as if Apollonius had foretold it by assistance of his demon. Upon which, Timasion suddenly turning about, said, What is the mat-

ter, my friends, for I think, what I have said, is as far from exciting wonder, as it is from exciting laughter. Damis immediately interposing, said, the cause of our surprise, I believe, you are not acquainted with: but as to what particularly concerns yourself, you are worthy of our praise from not thinking you have done any thing which deserves it. Then Apollonius said to the youth, Do you sacrifice to Venus? Yes, by Jupiter, replied Timasion, and that daily, for I think her a Goddess deeply interested in affairs both human and divine. As Apollonius was much pleased with what he heard, he says, Let us unanimously decree the youth a crown on account of a continency far exceeding that of Hippolytus the son of Theseus, who slighted Venus from perhaps never being affected by the general passion, and was one in whose breast Love, with his smiles, never dwelt, whose disposition was austere and unbending. But Timasion, who has owned himself to be the votary of the Goddess, opposed the solicitations of a woman who loved him; Timasion fled, from an apprehension of the resentment of the Goddess, had he given way to a criminal amour. The entertaining an aversion for any particular deity, as that of Hippolytus for Venus, is not to be reckoned as a virtue. On the contrary, I think it highly praise-worthy to speak well of all the Gods, and at Athens more than at any other place, where altars are raised to the unknown Gods.* Such were the philosophical reflections made by Apollonius on the subject of

* *For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God. Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you—Acts of the Apostles.*

The Athenians, says Dr. Franklin, the learned translator of Lucian, not content with worshipping an infinite number of local and tutelary deities, created an altar, and dedicated it *τῷ ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*—to the unknown God; a kind of tacit acknowledgment that they were dissatisfied with all their deities, and had some imperfect notion of a true God, far superior to them.

Timasion, whom he called Hippolytus on account of the way he behaved to his step-mother. It was observed that the youth paid particular attention to his person, and performed with grace all the gymnastic exercises.

CHAP. IV.

UNDER the direction of this youth, Apollonius and his companions approached the spot sacred to Memnon, of whom Damis gives the account that follows. He says, he was the son of Aurora, who died, not at Troy, where by the way, he never came, but in Ethiopia, where he reigned for five generations. The Ethiopians are the longest-lived of all mortals,* and still lament Memnon, as a youth cut off by a premature death. The place where he was laid, is said to resemble an ancient forum, like what is found in towns long desolate, where we see broken columns, ruined walls, decayed seats, mutilated thresholds, and figures of Hermes worn away, partly by the hand, and partly by time. The statue of Memnon†

* Hence some of the people of Ethiopia have obtained the name of Macrobiani.

† Tacitus says, Germanicus saw the celebrated statue of Memnon, which though wrought in stone, when played on by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound.—In Desmontier's Letters on Mythology, there is one of the prettiest accounts we have of this statue, which I will give in his own words, “ On eleva dans la suite une statue de marbre noir, qui representait Memnon assis, les mains élevées & la bouche entr' ouverte, comme s'il allait parler. A peine le premier rayon de l'Aurore frappit-il le corps de la statue, qu'elle prenait un air riant & paraissait s'animer; mais aussitot que le rayon atteignoit la bouche, il en sortait un son harmonieux et tendre, qui semblait dire *Bon-jour, ma mère*: le soir, au moment où l'Aurore allait éclairer l'autre hémisphère, un soupir faible et plaintif semblait dire *ma mère adieu*.”

So to the sacred sun in Memnon's fane

Spontaneous concords quired the matin strain.

Botanic Garden.

See note on Memnon's lyre by Dr. Darwin.

looked towards the rising sun, was made of black marble, but had no beard. The feet were united according to the fashion of sculpture in the time of Dedalus. The hands rested on the base on which it was placed; and though sitting, seemed as if going to rise. The posture, the intelligence of the eyes, and whatever is said of the mouth, as in the act of speaking, are circumstances of wonder only at the time when it is stricken by the sun's rays, for at no other do they appear as producing any effect to those who are ignorant of its particular mechanism. But the moment the sun's beams fall on it (which they always do at his rising,) our travellers could not withhold their astonishment. For as soon as they touched the mouth it uttered a sound,* the eyes brightened, and seemed to look on the light like those who are pleased with it. Then it was, they understood the meaning of its being represented in the act of rising, which was in imitation of mortals, who, in a standing posture, pay their adorations to the God of light. After sacrificing to the Ethiopian Sol, and the Eoan† Memnon, the particular appellations given by the priests to these deities, the one being called Ethiopian‡ from producing heat, and the other Eoan from his mother Eos, or Aurora. Apollonius and his friends mount-

* Philostratus, says Savary, in his Letters on Egypt, misled by his love of the marvellous, sets no bounds to his credulity, nor does Savary, I will add, set any bounds to the liberality of his translation. Here it is—"The colossus of Memnon, though of stone, was gifted with speech: at the rising of the sun, joyous to behold again his mother, he saluted her in a pleasing voice. Towards the setting sun, he expressed his sorrow in a sad and mournful tone. "This marble had the property of shedding tears at pleasure," &c. &c.

† Memnon called *Eoan* from *Ἠώς*—Aurora who was his mother. Homer calls him the son of Aurora, by which, I suppose, he only indicates the east from whence he came.—However, the Memnon of the text is not Homer's Memnon.

‡ *Ἀἰθρῶν*—uro.—

ed on camels proceeded to the dwellings of the Gymnosophists.

CHAP. V.

THEY proceeded not far, till they met a person dressed after the manner of Memphis, who seemed more like an idle loungeur than one who had any decided object in view. Damis asked him who he was, and why he sauntered so up and down? To whom Timasion said, you had better inquire of me; for I fear he will not at once tell you his situation, from being ashamed of it: but as I know the man, and feel for his condition, I will tell you what I know of him. He has committed an involuntary murder, and by the laws of Memphis in like cases provided, he must leave his country, and take shelter with the Gymnosophists, by whom, when purified and absolved, he may return home, but not till atonement has been made for his crime by visiting the tomb of the deceased, and offering there a sacrifice of blood of no costly value. Whilst excluded from the company of the Gymnosophists, he wanders through these borders till they take compassion on him as a penitent. And what opinion, said Apollonius, do these sages entertain of the fugitive? That I dont know, said Timasion, for he has been supplicating his pardon from them these seven months, and has not yet obtained it. I fear, returned Apollonius, you talk to me of men who have not too much wisdom to boast of, if they refuse expiating him; men I fear who know not that Philiseus whom he put to death was descended from Thamus the Egyptian, who formerly ravaged the country of the Gymnosophists. Timasion, in astonishment, exclaimed, What's that you say? Just what the young man did, said Apollonius. Thamus meditated formerly a change in the government of Memphis, for which, when repri-

manded by the Gymnosophists, and baffled in his purpose, he vented his fury, by ravaging the whole country, and plundering that which lay nearest Memphis. From this Thamus, in the thirteenth generation, is descended Philiseus now killed, accursed, it is to be supposed, in the eyes of all whose country he laid waste. And can these Gymnosophists be considered as wise in not at once acquitting a man guilty only of but an involuntary crime, and a crime so much to their advantage, whom it was their duty to honour with a crown, even had he perpetrated it by premeditation. Whereupon the young man in amazement said, And who are you, O stranger? One whom you will find with the Gymnosophists, replied Apollonius. But since it is not lawful for me to address a man polluted with blood, desire him, I pray thee, to keep up his spirits, for he shall receive expiation of his crime, if he comes to where I shall lodge. As desired, the young man waited on Apollonius, who, after performing what ceremonies are enjoined for purification by Empedocles and Pythagoras, bid him go home cleansed from all crimes.

CHAP. VI.

FROM the place where our travellers passed the night, they set out the morning after at sun-rise, and about mid-day arrived at the college of the Gymnosophists, who inhabited a small *rising ground** not far from the banks of the Nile. In wisdom the Indians exceeded them as much as they did the Egyptians. The Gymnosophists wore a dress like the Athenians, who take such delight in basking in the sun. They found but few trees in that district, and the grove, in which the sages assembled for public bu-

* In imitation of the Indians, from whom they are descended. B. iii, c. 10.

siness, was not large. They had no general place of meeting for public worship, like the Indians: but we saw many chapels on different parts of the hill, constructed with that care which is peculiar to the Egyptians. What, above all things, forms the chief object of their worship, is the Nile, which they consider as both earth and water. They live in the open air, and consequently have neither cottage nor house. They have built a kind of caravansary, for the use of strangers, in shape like the small porticos which you meet with in Elis, where the *athletæ* wait till they hear the meridian voice of the public cryer.

CHAP. VII.

HERE Damis notices a proceeding on the part of Euphrates, which it is impossible not to think puerile, and very much beneath the dignity of philosophy. He, having often heard that Apollonius intended to contrast the wisdom of India with that of Egypt, sent one Thrasybulus, a Naucratile, to the Gymnosophists, for the express purpose of misrepresenting him. Thrasybulus, on his arrival, pretended he came to form a literary acquaintance with them; he told them *the Tyonean* would soon be with them, whose coming would be attended with no little danger, as it was his object to raise the character of the Indian sages (whom he was perpetually praising) at the expense of those of Egypt. He added, he came stored with arguments against their tenets, for that he allowed no influence to the sun, nor to the heavens, or the earth;* but

* When Iarchas, in the third book, says, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis was delivered by Pythagoras to the Greeks, but by the Indians to the Egyptians, there is no doubt of his chiefly looking to the Ethiopians who passed from India into that part of Egypt which was called Ethiopia afterwards.

gave them whatever motion, force, and place, he liked himself. After the Naucratile made these observations he took his leave of them.

C H A P. VIII.

THE Gymnosophists,* though they concluded whatever was said by Thrasybulus as true, did not totally decline all intercourse with Apollonius when he arrived: they affected, however, to be engaged in matters of great moment, and to be entirely taken up with them. They said, they would speak with him when at leisure, and that they were very well acquainted with the cause of his journey. The person they sent to receive him ordered him and his companions to wait their pleasure under the portico. Whereupon Apollonius replied, I beg you may name no covered place to me, as the climate here permits all to go naked. (In this reply he glanced at the Gymnosophists, who were naked from necessity, and not from virtue) Apollonius continued, I am not surprised at their ignorance of what I wish, or of what brought me here; but I must say, such questions were not asked me by the Indians. Meanwhile he rested under a tree, and allowed his companions to make what inquiries seemed good to them.

* Apollonius having conversed with the Gymnosophists of India before his arrival here, was never tired with testifying how much he admired them. The Gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who had got a hint of this from Euphrates, affected to mention those of India in a scornful manner; upon which he answered them with a great deal of freedom, as you will perceive in the sequel, wherein he says, that they slandered the Indians only with a design to make the world believe that it was not for some shameful reasons that they were forced to leave India to go and settle in Ethiopia. See book iii. chap. 20.

CHAP. IX.

AFTER this, Damis, taking Timasion apart, asked him, when alone, in what the Gymnosophists were wise? (as it is probable you must know from having often conversed with them). In many important matters, replied he. If that is so, said Damis, I think the manner in which they treat us is not a proof of their wisdom; for neither to converse with such a man on the subject of philosophy, nor to behave to him with any attention, what can it be called but supercilious pride? I think it nothing else, said Timasion; and yet it is a pride which I did not perceive in my two former visits: besides, their general character is that of being kind and civil to all visitors. I believe it is not more than fifty days since Thrasybulus visited them; and though he is not very eminent in philosophical pursuits, he was received by them with the greatest politeness, from only saying he was one of Euphrates's disciples. What's that you say, young man, says Damis? Have you seen Thrasybulus, the Naucratile, in this college? I have, said he; and, what is more, I carried him back in my boat. Now, by Minerva, cried Damis, enraged, I see how it is all his contrivance. What I can tell you, said Timasion, is, that yesterday, when I asked that man who he was, he thought me unworthy of the secret: but if it is no mystery, tell me, I pray you, who he is; as perhaps I shall be able to throw some light on what you wish to be informed of. The moment Damis said he was the Tyanean, Timasion exclaimed, The secret is now out. When Thrasybulus was sailing with me down the Nile, the answer he made me as to the cause of his visit to the Gymnosophists was not one which deserved much commendation, for he said in it that he had filled their minds with such suspicions of Apollonius, as would make him but little relished

by them when he came. As to myself, I know nothing of any difference between them; but this I know, that it is the part of a mind not only effeminate, but uninformed, to have recourse to false accusations. I shall soon, however, learn, by talking with the Gymnosophists, what they think of it, as I am on good terms with them. Timasion waited on Apollonius in the evening, and said, he had just paid them a visit, without saying any thing more; at the same time he privately whispered Damis that they would be with him next day, full of all the suspicions instilled into them by Thrasybulus. Spending the rest of the day in conversation which was not worth being committed to paper, they took their frugal meal, and went to rest.

CHAP. X.

AS soon as it was day, Apollonius, after first paying his adorations to the sun, according to his custom, stood like one wrapt in meditation. Whilst in this serious posture, one of the youngest of the Gymnosophists came running to him and said, We are coming. You are doing what you ought, replied Apollonius, for I have travelled from the sea to see you; and so saying, he followed Nilus. When mutual salutations were passed (the Gymnosophists met him near the portico) he said, Where shall we hold our conference? There, said Thespesion, shewing the place with his hand. Thespesion took the lead as chief and eldest of the Gymnosophists, who, like the Hellanodicaë,* followed him with a slow and solemn pace. As soon as all had taken their seats as chance directed (for little or no order was attended to on the occasion) they

* Persons appointed to superintend the preparatory exercises of those who offered themselves to contend, and to be instructed in the laws of the Olympic Games by the keepers of the laws themselves.

cast their eyes on Thespesion as chief orator, who thus began: "Delphi and Olympia, you have seen, O Apollonius; Stratocles, of Pharos, told us he met you there. They who visit Delphi, it is said, are received with the sound of flutes, and songs, and hymns; they are besides entertained with the representations of tragedies and comedies; and, after all, are favoured with a combat of naked *athletæ*. At Olympia the preceding circumstances are not allowed, as being unsuitable to, and unbecoming the place; and the simple representation alone of naked *athletæ* is given to the spectators according to the institution of Hercules. In proportion, then, as the Olympic Games are more manly than the Pythian, just so is the wisdom of the Ethiopians more orthodox than that of the Indians. The Indians make use of various attractions, like those who call together the spectators of Delphi; but we are naked, like the *athletæ* at Olympia. Here the earth spreads no carpeting under our feet; it affords us no milk, no wine, as it does to the votaries of Bacchus; nor does the air support us at a distance from its surface. We are humble people; we live on the earth, and partake of whatever things it supplies us with of its own free will, without toil or labour, unaided by any magic influence. Besides, to shew that we are not unable to perform as wonderful things as the Indians, Thespesion said, "Salute the wise Apollonius, O Tree" (which words he addressed to the third elm from the one underneath which they were sitting). No sooner were the words uttered, than the tree* saluted him, speaking in a voice which was articulate, and resembling that of a woman. This sign was given for the purpose of depreciating the character of the Indians, from

* This elm, it seems, spoke; but the oaks in Dodona not only spoke, but prophesied. In truth, it was as easy to give them the powers of prophesying as of speech.

an expectation that Apollonius might be induced to alter his opinion of them, after hearing what could be said against their acts and opinions. Thespesion then continued, It is enough for a wise man, that he is pure in whatever he eats, that he touches nothing which has had life, that he subdues all those irregular desires which make their approaches through the eyes, that he remove far from him envy, the mistress of injustice, which carries both hands and mind to the commission of all wrong. Truth requires no wonderful things to be performed, nor the use of any magic arts. Let us now turn our eyes, said Thespesion, to the Delphic Apollo, who dwells in the centre of Greece, and see him in the act of giving out his oracles. The petitioner who comes to Delphi for his answer, proposes a brief question, and the God, without any previous display of his power, simply tells what he knows, though he could at the same time shake all Parnassus to its centre, change Castalia's waters into wine, and stop the course of the river Cephissus: and though I say he could do all this, he plainly tells the truth without any parade or ostentation. We are not to think that offerings of gold, or of other sumptuous presents are made at his desire; nor suppose that Apollo takes any pleasure in his temple, even supposing it had been built at double its present expense. In former times the God had but an humble dwelling, nothing but a small cottage, in which the bees are said to have stored their wax, and the birds their feathers. Frugality is the mistress of wisdom, and of truth likewise, which if you prize as you ought, you will be reputed truly wise, and forget all the fables you heard amongst the Indians. As to the mere uttering of such words as, *Do*, or *Do not*—and *I know*, or *know not*—and *this*, or *that*, why is it necessary to express them in the voice of thunder, or with a mind in a state of phrenzy? You have seen among the pictures of Prodicus the one in which Hercules is represented as a youth undetermined

what kind of life to chuse, placed as you may remember, between Pleasure and Virtue, and each in her turn striving to drag him to herself. Pleasure is deckt in the richest embroidery and purple, with rosy cheeks, curled locks, painted eyes, and golden slippers, in which she seems to pride herself. Virtue on the other hand appears as if tired with labour, homely in her looks, quite unadorned, barefooted, in mean attire, in short almost naked, except where decency requires a covering. Now suppose, Apollonius, you were placed between the wisdom of the Indians and that of ours, and were to hear the one saying, You shall sleep on beds of roses, and drink milk, and live on honey; You shall have besides as much nectar as you can desire, and wings to fly wherever you please; You shall have also tripods and golden thrones to sit on, together with all your heart can wish for without any trouble; and all the aforesaid luxuries to wait on you of their own accord. But the wisdom we have learnt, inculcates a quite contrary doctrine, for it says, We must lie on the ground, prostrate ourselves in the dust, go naked, and live as we do at present in the midst of toils and hardships, and must account nothing pleasant or agreeable which does not proceed from labour. It gives no indulgence to vain-boasting and pride, it pays no attention to dreams and visions, that lift men above the earth, and their condition on it. If then you make your choice like Hercules, and judge like a man, you will not despise the virtue called frugality, nor that temperance in living which is consonant to nature. Living in this manner, you will gain a victory greater than what has been obtained by the destruction of Lions, Hydras, Geryons, and Nessusses. On the other hand, if you prefer to what I have said the arts and contrivances of enchanters and magicians, You will flatter the eyes and ears of men, and will not be a whit wiser than others, and in the end become the laughing stock of the Egyptian Gymnosophist.

C H A P. XI.

WHEN Thespesion ended his discourse, all eyes were fixed on Apollonius, whose disciples knew well what he would say; but Thespesion and his companions waited in silent astonishment to hear what he should say. Apollonius, after commending Thespesion for the eloquence of his speech, and the gravity with which it was delivered, asked if he had any thing more to say, to which he replied, he had not. Then Apollonius asked if any other Egyptian had any thing to say? Thespesion said, In hearing me, you have heard all. Whereupon Apollonius making a pause, and with his eyes as it were fixed on what he heard, thus began. The choice which Prodicus says, was made by Hercules in his youth, has been rightly, and philosophically explained by you, O wise Egyptians, but it concerns me not. I come not here to consult with you about the kind of life I am to chuse, having long before made my election; but I am come in consequence of being older than you all (with the exception of Thespesion alone,) to recommend from my experience a choice of wisdom, if you have not already made one. Yet though I am advanced both in years and wisdom, I will with pleasure submit to your judgments the choice I have made, and will hope to make it appear that I have chosen wisely, and could not, considering every thing, have chosen better. In the doctrine of Pythagoras I observed something sublime; I perceived the ineffable wisdom by which he not only knew what he was himself, but what he had been. In forming my opinion of it, I considered the purity with which he approached the altars, his abstinence from all animal food, his wearing no garments made of what had life, the manner in which he bridled his tongue,* and the

* For the explanation of the proverb of βας ἐπὶ γλῶττι—*the bos in lingua* consult Erasmus. Proverbium de iis qui corrupti pecuniâ (in qua olim bovis signum) loqui non auderent.

rules he prescribed for its right government; in short, when I considered how he had laid down the rest of his philosophical system, founded as it were on oracles and truth itself; I flew at once, most excellent Thespesion, to his doctrines, without chusing a philosophy composed of two,* as you advise. Before, however, I made my final election, philosophy set before me her various sects, giving each its peculiar ornament; and commanded me to examine them all, and chuse whichever I thought the best. I was struck with the beauty of them all, which appeared not only awful, but divine; yet there were some that seemed superior to the rest, and dazzled me by their exceeding brightness. I however considered them all, all inspired me with confidence, and each in turn preferred her claims, and promised what she could give. One† said, she would procure every pleasure without any pain; another‡ promised me repose only after toil; and a third, pleasure§ mixed with labour. Pleasures were every where presented to my sight, and the reins hanging loose on appetite: my hands were left at liberty to grasp at wealth, and my eyes to behold every object: add to which a latitude was given to love and desire, and all the other train of passions: yet there was one sect that boasted she was able to controul these unruly affections, whose temper was bold and reproofing, and never inclined to spare vice. She was of such unspeakable beauty, as to have subdued Pythagoras himself: she appeared not in the crowd with the others, but stood apart without speaking a word. As soon as she understood I was not addicted to any particular sect, and was as yet ignorant of her, she addressed me in these words, “O young man! I am sad, and full of

* Indian and Ethiopian.

† That of Epicurus.

‡ That of the Cynics and Stoics.

§ That of Aristotle.

cares: if any man conforms to my rule of life, he must remove from his table all animal food, and forget the use of wine: he must not trouble the cup of wisdom, which is set in all hearts abstaining from wine. He is to wear no garments made of either hair, or wool, his shoes must be of the bark of trees, and his sleep wherever he can get it. If I find him susceptible of love, I have deep pits, into which Nemesis, the minister of wisdom, will plunge him. But I am so severe to my own followers, that I have bridles made for curbing the tongue. Attend now, and I will tell you the rewards, which await him, who has made me their choice. He shall possess, without a rival, temperance and justice; he shall be more a terror to tyrants than their slave, and shall be more acceptable to the Gods by his humble offerings of little value, than they who shed the blood of bulls. When once he is made pure, I will give him a knowledge of hereafter, and so fill his visual ray with light,* as to make him capable of distinguishing between Gods and heroes, and of appreciating duly all shadowy phantasms, whenever they assume the likenesses of mortals. This is the life I have chosen, O learned Egyptians! and which I have done in obedience to sound sense, and the precepts of Pythagoras; in doing it, I think I have neither deceived myself, nor have been deceived by others. I have acted in every thing, as it became a philosopher, and have acquired all that was promised by philosophy. I have considered as a philosopher the origin of this art, and whence are derived its principles: and it has appeared to me to be the invention of men who excelled in divine knowledge, and searched deeply into the nature of the soul, whose immortal, and immutable essence, is

* ——— He purg'd with euphrasie and rue
The visual nerve, for he had much to see:
And from the well of life three drops distill'd

the true source from whence it flows. I never thought we were indebted to the Athenians for the knowledge of the soul. The doctrine Plato taught at Athens with such divine eloquence, was there corrupted by the admission of certain opinions contrary to his, and totally erroneous. Hence it became necessary for me to inquire, whether any nation, or people existed, amongst whom not one or two men were of this, or that opinion concerning the nature of the soul; but to find out where its immortality had in all times been the universal opinion. Under the direction of youth, and an ignorance which still adhered to me, I turned my eyes towards you (for fame had spoken much in your favour,) and consulted my preceptor on the occasion. He spoke to me in the following manner, Suppose, says he, you were old enough to be in love, and happened to meet a beautiful youth, with whom you were enamoured; and suppose you inquired who his parents were, and found that he was descended from men who had held high commands in the state, and had formerly superintended the public games, would you, I ask you, knowing this, say he was the son of a trierarch, or tribune: and if you were so weak as to make the assertion, could you imagine you would conciliate by it the object of your affection; or is it not rather to be supposed that you would be considered as uncivil in giving him an ignoble line of ancestors in place of his own noble ones. Why do you who love the wisdom of the Indians, call it rather by the name of its adopted, than its real parents? and why do you give the Egyptians a greater advantage than they had formerly, when, it is said, the Nile run mixed with honey? Such were the reasons that induced me to visit the Indians before I came to you, first, considering them as men of sublimer genius by living in a purer atmosphere, and next, as holding opinions of nature, and the Gods, more consonant to the truth, by reason of being nearer heaven, and the fountain of an ethereal and vivifying substance. As soon

as I came to them, I was affected by the force of their doctrine, as it is said, the Athenians were with the tragedies of Eschylus. He was a tragic poet, who, finding his art rude and unadorned, diminished the number of persons composing the chorus, as too numerous, and abridged the dialogue, as too diffuse, from a dislike he had to the length of the monodies. He thought all murders were to pass behind the scenes, far removed from the sight of the audience. Improvements in the art such as I have mentioned, let them not be considered of little consequence, because we might suppose them discovered by one much inferior in talents to Eschylus. But this father of the stage, taking into consideration the style in which tragedy should speak; and supposing, naturally, that it required a language adapted only to solemn pomp and sublimity, invented a dress suitable to the style and titles of its heroes. In making his performers appear in buskins, he gave them stature, and an heroic step; and he was the first to dress them in a fashion suitable to the characters they represented. For this, Eschylus is called the father of tragedy, and invoked, though dead, at the celebration of the Dionysia; his tragedies are appointed to be acted by a public decree, and he still carries off the victory. The pleasure however arising from having not only corrected, but embellished tragedy, is but short-lived, for it lasts only the short space of a day, like the feasts of Bacchus; but the pleasure which springs from a philosophy harmonized, as Pythagoras prescribed, and enriched with that divine temperature which his Indian friends gave it, is not of short duration, for it extends ad infinitum, and is unbounded by number. Attachment therefore to a philosophy so endowed and appointed, appears not to me unreasonable, such as the Indians represent it, beautifully arrayed, and seated in a high celestial machine. It is now time to make you see my reasons for loving the Indians, and why I think them both wise and happy. “I have seen men living upon

the earth and not upon it: defended without walls, having nothing, and yet possessing all things." If I utter enigmas, the wisdom of Pythagoras allows it; for he taught us their use, when he discovered that learning was the mistress of silence. You yourselves were the instructors of Pythagoras in his philosophy,* which you recommended, at the time you sanctioned, and approved it as Indians. But now ashamed of what caused the earth's displeasure, which forced you to migrate to this country,† you had rather pass for any other people than Ethiopians come from India; and you have done all in your power to effect it. In consequence of this you have laid aside all the ornaments peculiar to Indians, as if with them you might lay aside the name of Ethiopians. You have worshipped the Gods more after the ritual of Egyptians than your own; and you have used a most unbecoming language in talking of the Indians, just as if the blame cast on them, did not recoil on yourselves as their descendants. And this custom, which began at the time of your changing their dress,‡ is not yet altered; even to this day you are giving specimens of a reproachful sarcastic style of conversation, in saying that the Indians have made no useful discovery, but only raised up apparitions, and spectres, and certain delusions, by which they fascinate the eyes and ears. It is only a proof of your folly when you judge of my wisdom, of which you are quite ignorant. As to myself, I will say nothing, I only wish I was such as the Indians think, who

* Apuleius says, Pythagoras went from Chaldea to the Brachmans: these are wise persons, a nation of India, for which reason he visited their Gymnosophists.

† B. iii. c. 20.

‡ Here Apollonius censures the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia for quitting entirely the habit of the Indian Gymnosophists, by which they hoped to persuade the world that they were not from India, but originally from Ethiopia. All this, says Bayle, is another proof that neither the Indian, nor Ethiopian Gymnosophists went naked.

are a people I will never suffer to be treated with contumely. If you possess the candour and wisdom of the Himeræan man,* (who composed a palinodia on Helen, in spirit and language directly contrary to what he had before written) and think there is any truth in what I say, you will without delay revise your judgments, and change your opinion. If the muses do not assist you in singing a palinodia, it was at least your duty to have spared men, whom the Gods think deserving of their favour, and who are not despised by them, though their offerings all consist in bloodless sacrifices. In your discourse, Thespesion, you alluded to the Pythian oracle, and to the plain and unadorned way in which it delivered its answers, and the example you produced in your favor, was taken from the temple built of wax and feathers. But in my opinion this was no proof of want of design, for the verse by which Apollo ordered his Delphic temple to be built, run thus, "Birds, bring your feathers, and you, bees, your wax," words which indicated, as well a form of building, as the building itself. However, the God himself, finding, as I think, such a building too small and unbecoming his wisdom, wished to have another kind of edifice, one of a magnitude equal to what it is at this day, and of a hundred feet in dimensions. In one of the chapels constructed for him, he is said to have suspended birds of gold, whose voices possessed the sweet notes of Sirens. To adorn

* Stesichorus, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily.—It is said he lost his sight for writing invectives against Helen, and that he recovered the same only on condition of recanting what he had written. He was the first inventor of that fable of the horse and the stag, which Horace and some other poets have imitated, and which, it is said, he wrote to prevent his countrymen from making an alliance with Phalaris. He lived about 556 years before Christ, and died at Catana, in the 85th year of his age.—His name at first was Tisias, but was changed to Stesichorus, in memory of his being the first who taught the chorus to dance to the lyre.

this Pythian abode, he has amassed in it the most costly presents, and for that purpose has not rejected the sculptor's art, which has conveyed to it colossal figures of men, and Gods, and horses, and bulls, besides other animals; neither Glaucus coming with a bowl,* nor Polygnotus† with a picture of Troy in flames, has been turned away. But though Apollo did not suppose the gold of Lydia would add any ornament to his temple, yet he permitted its being brought there, out of regard to the Greeks, who might, by seeing the wealth of the barbarians, be disposed more to make it an object of their plunder, than that of their own country by civil dissensions. In adorning his temple, Apollo has displayed a taste truly Grecian, and becoming his own wisdom. The reason, I think, which he assigns for delivering his answers in verse, is to give them more beauty and effect, otherwise he would simply utter them in the following short sentences, as, *Do this*, or *Do not this*, *Go*, or *Go not*, *Make such alliance*, or *Do not make it*. Expressions like these are short, and as you are wont to say, *naked* and unadorned; but Apollo adopts the style of poetry, to make his responses more gracious and agreeable to all who come to consult his oracle. He wishes to be supposed ignorant of nothing, not even of the number of the grains of sand on the sea shore,‡ nor of measuring the ocean. And is this the knowledge which you are pleased to consider in the number of magical delusions, and to ascribe to the love of the marvellous? merely because

* An artist of Chios.

† A celebrated painter of Thasos, about 422 years before the Christian æra.

‡ This alludes to the answer given to the Lydians by the oracle at Delphi.—

I count the sand, I measure out the sea :

The silent, and the dumb, are heard by me, &c.

HERODITUS, Cleo. 47.

Apollo pronounced it with splendour, and elevation of mind. Let not what I say offend thee, Thespesion; the old women who tell fortunes by means of a sieve, go to the shepherds and herdsmen to cure their cattle when sick, by their skill in prophesying, as they call it: and for this they wish to be thought wise, and even wiser than the true prophets. When, therefore, I compare your wisdom with that of the Indians, I think you exactly like these old women; and the Indians as men divine, dressed, and adorned like the Pythian prophetess. But you ——— however, I will say no more. Modesty in speech is prized by me, as it is by the Indians, I wish to preserve it as the guide and companion of my lips. Whatever I can acquire by approbation and praise, I do; whatever I cannot I never make the subject of invective. You have read in Homer how the land of Cyclopa* maintains a fierce and lawless race of men† without cultivation; with which account you are pleased; and if any Edonians,‡ or Lydians, keep the feasts of Bacchus, you have no doubt of the earth supplying them with fountains of wine and milk sufficient for their use. Nevertheless, you refuse to those who are enthusiastically fond of wisdom, the gifts, I say, which the earth yields of itself. Tripods of themselves attended at the feasts of the Gods, yet Mars, incensed and ignorant as he was, never blamed Vulcan for making them, for no charge of such a nature would have been listened to by the Gods as this, “You are wrong, Vulcan, in giving such ornaments to the feasts of the Gods, and in manifesting

* Sicily.

† They, trusting to the Gods, plant not, or plough,
But earth unsow'd, untill'd, brings forth for them
All fruits; wheat, barley, and the vinous grape, &c.

COWPER, Od. 9, 105.

‡ ——— Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis.

HOR. l. ii. o. 7.

your wonderful power." No accusation was brought against him for making hand-maidens of gold, nor for corrupting the metals by giving animation to gold. Ornament is the object of all arts, to effect which they are invented. It is even for the sake of ornament that men go without shoes, and carry a cloak and wallet. The going naked seems to present a condition the humblest and meanest, yet is studied for the sake of ornament, from which it only deviates by adopting a different kind of exterior. By the same rule let us judge of the sun, and of the manner in which he is worshipped, together with the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Indians. The terrestrial Gods take delight in caves, and the sacrifices performed in them. The air is the vehicle of the sun, and it is necessary that they who wish to honour him with becoming respect, should be raised above the earth, and elevated to the same height with the God himself. This exaltation is what is wished for by all, but can only be effected by the Indians.

CHAP. XII.

DAMIS recovered new life when he heard all that Apollonius said. The Egyptians were so much affected by his discourse, that Thespion, whose complexion was of a dark and swarthy hue, appeared plainly to blush; but all were astonished at the firmness and eloquence with which he had spoken. Damis says, that the youngest of the Ethiopians, whose name was Nilus, leaped with joy, and running up to Apollonius, held out his hand, and requested him to give an account of all that passed in India. To whom Apollonius said, I can refuse nothing to those who are of a docile disposition, and love science; but as for such men as Thespion and others, who consider every thing Indian insignificant, and of no value, I am unwilling they should learn from me all I know of them and their

knowledge. To this Thespesion said, Suppose, Apollonius, you were a merchant, or captain of some vessel, and were to bring a cargo of goods from India, would you wish to have them disposed of without their being either seen, examined, or tried? On the contrary, replied Apollonius, I should wish to have them examined by as many as pleased: at the same time I must say, that if a person came down to the beach just as the vessel arrived, and before the goods were landed, was to run down the cargo, and abuse me as coming from a country that had nothing good in it, and besides, was to attack this kind of navigation as useless and unproductive, and even try to bring over others to his opinion, can you imagine I would cast anchor in the harbour, or fasten my ship to land; or is it not rather your opinion that I should hoist sail, put to sea, and commit my fortune more willingly to the mercy of the waves, than to that of such uncandid, inhospitable men. However, said Nilus, on this occasion, I here lay hold of the cable, and request you may share your cargo with me: Nay, I will insist on going aboard in quality of a passenger who knows and acknowledges the excellency of what you have brought home.

CHAP. XIII.

HERE Thespesion, with a design of putting an end to the conversation, said, I am glad, Apollonius, you resented what I said, as I hope you will pardon us for a like warmth of temper we felt at the attack made on our wisdom previous to your having any knowledge of it. This surprised Apollonius a little, who had not been apprized of the machinations of Euphrates and Thrasybulus, but as he was wont, he soon comprehended its meaning; and said, nothing like this could have happened with the Indians, who, from their knowledge of futurity, would never have listened to the

suggestions of Euphrates. As to myself, I have no cause of difference with him; I own, I once endeavoured to withdraw him from his love of riches, and the passion he has for turning everything to gain; but he considered my advice unseasonable, and such as he could not follow. Nay, he took it as carrying a tacit reproach, for which he has never ceased plotting against me. But since you have deemed him a man of reputation, notwithstanding his misrepresentation of my character, take care, I pray you, that he has not treated yourselves in the same manner. For, in my opinion, he who is the object of calumny, incurs no inconsiderable share of danger, because he is hated, though innocent; and they who listen to calumniators, hazard also something, inasmuch as they make it appear that they love lies, and estimate them as they do truth; and shew themselves credulous, and inconstant, a fault which in youth is unbecoming. Besides, they must appear to us subject to envy, which alone moves them to listen to every false accusation. And to this may be added, that such people are more exposed to calumnies themselves, who give credit to everything they hear to the disadvantage of others: for know, the minds of men are ever more prone to commit whatever does not exceed the bounds of being believed. But God forbid such men should obtain sovereign power, and have dominion over the people, for a republic would become a tyranny in their hands; nor should they be placed at the head of the law, for no cause would have a fair hearing with them; nor at the head of naval affairs, for they would create a mutiny in the fleet; nor at the head of the army, for the enemy would have the advantage of them; nor should such men even philosophize, for no right opinion of things will be ever formed by them. But Euphrates has done you wrong in bereaving you of your wisdom, for how can they whom he has deluded with his lies, lay a claim to that, from the maxims of which, they have departed at the sug-

gestions of one who made them believe the most incredible things? Then Thespesion, with the design of appeasing Apollonius, and making light of what had passed, says, come Apollonius, we have talked enough of Euphrates, and things of such little moment, let us now endeavour to make you and him friends, for it is the part of wisdom to arbitrate between the wise. But, returned Apollonius, who will restore you to my favor; for surely the man whose character is attacked by lies, has some reason to be angry. I grant it, said Thespesion: meanwhile, we shall philosophize together, and that will the sooner make us friends.

CHAP. XIV.

NILUS, who was very desirous to hear Apollonius, said, I think, Apollonius, you should give us an account of your journey to the Indies, and of what conversations you had with them, as I suppose all turned upon the most important subjects. And I wish very much, said Thespesion, to hear what you have to say of the wisdom of Phraotes, for, according to report, you have brought home the very image and impression of what you heard from him. On this, Apollonius beginning with what had passed at Babylon, related everything in order, to the end; with which they were greatly delighted. Meanwhile, mid-day approached, that being the time employed by the Gymnosophists in their holy rites.

CHAP. XV.

WHILST Apollonius and his companions were taking a frugal meal, Nilus waited on them with bread and herbs, and a desert, of which he carried part himself, and the remainder was carried by others. As the young man ap-

proached, he addressed Apollonius with great respect, and said, The Sages send these presents of hospitality to you, and me—I say to me, as I mean, with your permission, to eat with you, and shall not come, as they say, without an invitation, as I now invite myself. Then, says Apollonius, I accept this tender of your person and character with great pleasure, as I am told your attachment to the wisdom of the Indians and Pythagoras is great. Sit down, says Apollonius, near me, and eat. I will, replies Nilus, but I fear your repast will not be enough for me. Am I to understand by this, returned Apollonius, that you have an enormous appetite? You are, said Nilus, because if you provided a rich and sumptuous banquet for me, I should shortly require more. What other name can you give me, than that of an insatiable glutton. For God's sake, said Apollonius, eat as much as you please, you will give me matter of conversation, and I will be answerable for the rest.

CHAP. XVI.

AFTER their meal was over, Nilus said, Till this day I have served under the banners of these Gymnosophists; I was enrolled among their light troops, and I am now going to put on heavy armour, and adorn myself with your shield. I am afraid, Egyptian, said Apollonius, that such a step would be considered as ill-judged by Thespe-sion, and the rest of the Gymnosophists; who would not fail to say you had taken it without having duly prepared and examined yourself. I have the same fears too, said Nilus: but if he who makes a choice, commits a fault, perhaps he who does not, commits another: and if hereafter the Gymnosophists were to make the choice I have done, would not they be more culpable than myself? For surely greater blame will attach to them, who from their

superior wisdom and advanced time of life, declined making that choice I have done; and who, notwithstanding that superiority, neglected doing that which might have been so much to their advantage. You speak well, young man, said Apollonius; but wise as you are, take care not to subject yourself to their censure. I own you have reasons for abandoning the sect of the Gymnosophists, but methinks you press on with too ardent a zeal, and proceed more after the manner of a reformer, than their disciple. Then the Egyptian, contrary to what Apollonius expected, thus answered, in all things wherein obedience was inculcated by my seniors, I complied as a young man, and as long as I thought they possessed more wisdom than other men, I frequented their society; but I will now tell you what gave rise to my present determination. My father formerly traded in the Red Sea, having the command of that ship which the Egyptians used to send out to India. In his voyages thither, he conversed with some Indians who lived on the sea coast, from whom he received the same accounts of their wise men you have. My father told me, they were the wisest of mortals, that the Ethiopians were a colony from India, who trod almost, as it were, in the wise steps of their forefathers, and adhered strictly to domestic discipline. In consequence of this account I resigned, though young, what hereditary patrimony I had, to those who desired it, and *naked*, joined *the naked*, to learn from them the wisdom of the Indians, or what at least approached the nearest to it. I found them wise, but not so wise as the Indians. When I asked them why they followed not the philosophy of the Indians, they had recourse to invectives such as you have heard this day. Young as you still see me, they enrolled me in their society, apprehending I might have followed my father's example and gone to sea, which I swear to you by the Gods, I would have done, and made my way to the Hill of the Sages, had not some God sent you hither as my

guide and assistant, to give me an intellectual relish of their knowledge, without either putting me to the trouble of traversing the Red Sea, or conversing with the dwellers on the sea coast. It is not therefore at this day I have made choice of my kind of life; it was adopted long ago, but till now I never thought I had obtained its object. Is it wrong for a man to return to the right way, after having wandered from it? Suppose I were to bring these Gymnosophists to adopt my choice, what great act of temerity should I be guilty of? Youth is not to be prohibited from doing it, a period of life more fitted to learn, than one more advanced in years. He who counsels another to embrace a system which he has chosen himself, avoids at least the reproach of giving advice to others which he does not follow himself; and whoever enjoys alone the good things which fortune has bestowed, does them an injury, inasmuch as he takes from them the power they possess of giving pleasure to others.

CHAP. XVII.

WHILST Nilus was talking like a young man, Apollonius said, as yet you have never alluded to what reward I am to receive for the communication of my wisdom, of which you are so desirous to partake. That shall not be forgotten, said Nilus, you may ask what you please. I ask, in the first place, said Apollonius, that whatever choice you make, should be made for yourself alone; and next, that you should not trouble the Gymnosophists, by giving them councils which will not serve them. I agree to what you say, said Nilus, and to the stipulated reward. These are the conversations they held together. Afterwards Nilus asked Apollonius how long he meant to stay with the Gymnosophists, and he answered, as long as I shall judge their wisdom deserving of it, when once an opportunity is given

for conversing with them. He then said, he would go to Catadupa,* to see the sources of the Nile, thinking it would be not only delightful to examine them, but to hear the noise they make. After discoursing in this manner, and calling to mind all that happened in India, they lay down on the grass and went to sleep.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE next morning, as soon as it was day-light, and their accustomed acts of devotion performed, they followed Nilus, who conducted them to Thespesion, where, after mutual salutations, they sat down in a grove, and entered into conversation. Apollonius thus began it, The discourse of yesterday, says he, proves clearly of what consequence it is not to hide our knowledge. The Indians gave me all the information I required, on the subject of their philosophy; and even now I do not forget my instructors, whose wisdom I am disseminating through the world. I shall be likewise of some use to you, if you make me acquainted with all you know. If you do, I shall never cease noising it abroad; I shall communicate it to the Indians by letter. When the Gymnosophists heard this, they said, propose what questions you please, for all knowledge proceeds from interrogation.

CHAP. XIX.

THEN, says Appollonius, I will first ask why you have given to the people of this country representations of the Gods so absurd, and ridiculous, with only the exception

* See note, chap. 23.

of a few? But why do I say few? Because there are but very few indeed conceived in wisdom, and formed in any degree suitable to the divine nature. Of the worship which you pay to the remainder, were we to form an opinion, we might suppose that not Gods, but irrational, and unseemly animals were the objects of it. At hearing this, Thespesion with some indignation said, of what kind then are the statutes of the Gods with you? They are, replied Apollonius, as beautiful, and as proper to represent the Gods, as can be devised. I suppose, said Thespesion, you allude to the statues of the Olympian Jove, and Minerva, and the Gnidian Venus, and Argive Juno, and whatever others excel in beauty and grace? They are not the only ones to which I allude, but I say in general, that the art which shews itself in the rest, has preserved a most becoming propriety in their formation; as to what I have seen among you, I think you hold your Gods rather in a ludicrous, than a serious point of view. What, said Thespesion, are we to suppose the Phidiases and Praxitelises went up to heaven, from whence they drew their art and their likenesses of the Gods? or was it any thing else which gave them a knowledge of the art? Yes, said Apollonius, it was something else, and what was pregnant with wisdom. And what was that, replied Thespesion, for I think nothing can be alledged but imitation? Imagination, said Apollonius, a much wiser mistress, than Imitation; for the one only copies what it sees, the other represents to the life what it has not seen. Imitation often fails in its designs through fear; Imagination never, which advances fearless and bold to the execution of whatever she undertakes. He who wishes to form in his mind the image of Jupiter, should see him with the same enraptured fancy Phidias did, sitting in the heavens, encompassed with the hours and stars. And he who would represent Pallas, should have in his mind precise and accurate ideas of war, and armies, and councils, and pru-

dence; and be able to judge what her appearance was at the time she started in full and complete armour, from the brain of Jupiter. If you place a hawk, or an owl, or a wolf, or a dog, in your temples, to represent Mercury, Minerva, or Apollo, the beasts and birds may derive dignity from such representations, but the Gods will lose theirs. I think, said Thespesion, you slight our mode of worship, before you have given it a fair examination. For surely what we are speaking of is wise, if any thing Egyptian is so; the Egyptians dare not venture to give any forms to the Deities, they only give them in symbols, which have an occult meaning that renders them more venerable. Apollonius smiling at this, said, O, ye Sages, Great indeed is the advantage you have derived from the wisdom of Egyptians and Ethiopians, if you find any thing worthy of your worship in a dog, an ibis, or a goat: or if you think such creatures fit to represent your Gods; and yet this is what I now hear from the wise Thespesion. But let me ask what degree of veneration or terror can be excited by such objects? I think it is more than probable that the perjurer, the blasphemer, and the profane, would despise more than fear such representations of celestial beings. But if what the mind discovers couched under such symbolical figures, is entitled to greater veneration, surely the condition of the Gods in Egypt, would be more highly respected if no statues whatever were erected to them, and if theology was treated in a different manner, with a little more wisdom and mystery. Men might build temples in honour of the Gods, and order the necessary altars to be erected, together with the sacrifices proper to each; it is their business to prescribe the time of their duration, and the peculiar rites, and even words to be used on the occasion, which might be all done without the introduction of any image, but afterwards it is their duty to leave to the worshippers themselves on entering the temple, to give whatever likenesses they please to the

Gods. The mind forms to itself a something which it delineates better than what any art can do; but in the present instance you have taken from the Gods the very power of appearing beautiful either to the eye or the understanding. To this Thespesion said, there was an old Athenian of the name of Socrates, who was as great a fool as ourselves, who thought a dog, a goose, and even a Platanus, were Gods, and swore by them.* He was no fool, said Apollonius, but a divine, and truly wise man; he swore by these things, not as being Gods, but lest he should swear by the Gods.

CHAP. XX.

AFTER this, Thespesion, like one who wished to change the conversation, questioned Apollonius about the whipping of the Lacedemonians, and asked whether they were now publicly whipped? They are, said Apollonius, and with great severity, though men of an ingenuous and free disposition. And how, said Thespesion, are their slaves treated who offend? They are no longer put to death as the laws of Lycurgus permitted to be done; but still the same stripes await them. And what do the Greeks think of this, said Thespesion? They run, said Apollonius, as it were to the feasts † of Hyacinthus, or the Gymnopœdia, ‡ to see it, viewing all with great composure and satisfac-

* Some say it was out of reverence to the Divinity, that he used to swear by a cock, a dog, and a plane tree (under which they used to sit) though it were interpreted Atheism. Stanley's Life of Socrates. Shallow swears by cock and pye. Shakespear, Hen. IV. 2d part. Plane trees were consecrated to the Genii.

† Hyacinthia—an annual solemnity at Amyclæ in Laconia, in memory of the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, with games in honour of Apollo.

‡ Gymnopœdia—a solemn dance performed by Spartan boys.

tion. But are not the good Greeks, returned Thespesion, ashamed to see those who formerly had dominion over them, whipped in public? or rather do they not blush at the recollection of being subject to the rule of men who are publicly scourged with rods? And why has not this abuse been corrected by you, who, I am informed, paid particular attention to the affairs of Lacedemon? Wherever I thought my advice could avail, I gave it, said Apollonius, and it was immediately complied with. The Lacedemonians are the freest people of Greece, and obey only those who give them good councils. But the custom of whipping is still retained in honour of the Scythian Diana,* and in obedience, as is said, to the commands of the oracles, for, as I think, it is madness to make laws in opposition to those of the Gods. Then it seems to me, said Thespesion, that you make the Gods of the Greeks of but little account, if they still think whipping necessary for free men, who are so attached to liberty. It was not the Gods, said Apollonius, that ordered the scourging with rods, but they wished to have their altars sprinkled with human blood on account of its being held in honour by the Scythians. The Lacedemonians have ingeniously explained a sacrifice which they could not evade, and have given a lesson of patience, by means of which they can escape death, and appease the Goddess with their blood. Why then, said Thespesion, dont they sacrifice strangers

* The Tauri, a people of European Sarmatia who inhabited Taurica Chersonesus, sacrificed all strangers to Diana. The statue of this Goddess, which they believed to have fallen down from heaven, was carried away to Sparta by Iphigenia and Orestes. In a dispute which took place among some people who were sacrificing at her altar many lives were lost; in consequence of which an oracle was given, signifying that this altar ought to be sprinkled with human blood. Lycurgus, however, changed the custom of sacrificing a man by lot, to the scourging of young men with whips, as by this means the altar is equally imbrued with blood.

to Diana, as was formerly customary with the Scythians. Because, said Apollonius, the Greeks were never eager to imitate the manners of the barbarians. However, said Thespesion, it appears to me that there would be less inhumanity in sacrificing one or two strangers, than in putting the law of banishment in force against all. Let us not blame Lycurgus, said Apollonius, nay, rather let us enter into the spirit of the legislator, and know, that in refusing strangers permission to remain in Sparta, it was not his intention to preclude all intercourse with them, but only to preserve their manners pure and free from foreign mixture. But, replied Thespesion, I should believe the Spartans to be such as they wish to appear, had they known how to live with strangers, and retain the manners of their country in their purity. For Spartans should have appeared, like themselves, not only in the presence of strangers, but in their absence, by the maintenance of the same virtues. Yet though they banished strangers, they corrupted their manners, and copied the actions of the people to whom of all others they were the greatest enemies. To councils savouring too much of others, they owed the establishment of a marine and taxes; and what was at first considered by them as good ground of just war against the Athenians, was adopted afterwards on a change of sentiment; and notwithstanding their superiority to the Athenians in military glory, they were always inferior to them in every thing they borrowed from them. Besides, when they introduced a Goddess from Tauri, and the Scythians, did they not adopt a custom of strangers? and supposing it done in obedience to the oracle, why was it necessary to introduce the custom of whipping, and devise a patience in suffering, only fit for slaves? According to my opinion, it would have been worthier the character of Lacedemonians, and better adapted to strengthen their minds against the fear of death, had they made a sacrifice of such Spartan youths as volun-

tarily offered themselves at the altar. A sacrifice of this kind would have added much to the glory of Spartan courage, and averted Greece from taking up arms against her. Had the Lacedemonians thought it necessary to save their young men for war, the observance of the law among the Scythians relative to the men of sixty years of age, would have been more worthy their observance, than that of Scythians, supposing they sought death from motives of sincerity and not of ostentation. What I have said, is not against the Lacedemonians, it is rather against you, Apollonius. For were we maliciously to search into all institutions whose origin cannot be ascertained, and to blame the Gods as if giving them their approbation, we should run into many absurd opinions by such a train of reasoning. Suppose, for instance, we were to turn our attention to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and ask why such, and such ceremonies were established; or suppose we were to consider the religion of the Samothracians, or the feasts of Bacchus, or the Periphallia, or the figures of Mercury, and inquire concerning each, why this is done, and that not, we should scarcely be able, I think, to withhold our disapprobation of them. Let us turn then to other topics more agreeable to you, to the doctrine of Pythagoras, which we observe and reckon our own; and which holds it honourable to keep silence, if not in all things, at least in some. To this Apollonius answered, if, O Thespion, it pleased you to pursue this argument, we could shew you many Lacedemonian Institutions wherein that people have distinguished themselves above all the other Greeks. But since you think such a subject is impious and unfit to make a part of our conversation, let us pass to another which I think is of importance, and that is justice.

C H A P. XXI.

LET us then, said Thespesion, make justice the subject of our discourse, as being one suited both to those who are philosophers, and to those who are not. However, to guard against the confusion arising from the intermixing of any Indian opinions in our conversation, and to forbear quitting our argument, till we come to some conclusion, tell us first I pray thee, what are the sentiments of the Indians concerning justice, as it is but natural to suppose you have well examined them: for if their opinions are right and conformable to truth, it is our duty to bow assent to them; but on the contrary, if it appears that we reason more like philosophers than they do, I hope you will submit to us from a sense of reciprocal justice. Very well, said Apollonius, what you say, Thespesion, meets my full approbation. Listen, and I will tell you what made the subject of our disputations whilst among the Indians. I told them that my soul formerly inhabited another body, that I was then captain of a large vessel, and that I thought I had acted with great justice on a particular occasion, when a set of pirates promised me a reward, on condition of delivering up to them my vessel, by running her into a certain creek, where they were to be prepared for taking possession of her on account of the booty she had on board. All this I promised to do, to save my ship from being taken, and in the mean time slipped by them, and got beyond the promontory. What, returned Thespesion, did the Indians look on this as an act of justice? Far from it, replied Apollonius, they laughed, and said there was no justice in barely not acting unjustly. The Indians were right, said Thespesion, in withholding from you the title of just on that account. For prudence does not consist in the not planning foolish enterprises, nor courage in the not quitting your post in

the time of danger, nor temperance in the not abstaining from adultery; nor is a man's not appearing wicked, considered as entitling him to praise. For every thing that is equally remote from meriting either reward or punishment, is equally remote from meriting the name of virtue. How then, Thespesion, said Apollonius, shall we be able to distinguish a truly just man, and for what conduct esteem him deserving of a crown? I think, answered Thespesion, you discoursed on the subject of justice, rather with caution, and in a way too much accommodated to circumstances, when you talked in the presence of a King* who governed a rich country of great extent, and who consulted you in a matter so nearly connected with justice, as that of ruling his subjects. To this Apollonius said, if it had been Phraotes with whom we conversed on the subject of justice, you might indeed have blamed us, for not treating it with more gravity, but as from what I said yesterday, you must have known that the man we talked to was a drunkard, and an enemy to all philosophy, where would have been the necessity of troubling him, and vexing ourselves for the sake of one, who thought all happiness lay in spending his time after the manner of the ancient Sybarites? But seeing an inquiry concerning justice, is more fitting us as philosophers, than kings and generals, let us come to the point, and examine who is the truly just man. You will not give the title of *just* to those who barely refrain from injustice, nor to me who thought myself entitled to it, when I commanded my vessel, nor do you think us persons deserving of any honor. Certainly not, replied Thespesion, for there never was heard of a decree made by either Athenians or Lacedemonians, which conferred a crown on a man for not frequenting houses of ill fame; nor was it

* Whose name has not been given by Philostratus.

ever known that the rights of citizenship were granted to any one for not having been guilty of the sin of sacrilege. Who then, I say, will be numbered with the just, or what is a man to do to entitle him to that character? for I never remember a man to be crowned for his justice, nor a decree made in favor of a just man, running in words like these, "it is judged expedient to crown Caius, for having shewn himself just in such an action." And when I call to mind what befel Palamedes at Troy, and Socrates at Athens, I find that justice is not even sure of success in this world, and that persons the most just have suffered the most unjustly. Yet all perished under the pretext of having committed much injustice and wrong. But Justice herself destroyed Aristides the son of Lysimachus; notwithstanding the superiority of his character, he was exiled because he was just. Justice then it must be acknowledged is held in but a ridiculous point of view, for though she was appointed by Jupiter and the Fates, to prevent mens injuring each other, yet she is not able to defend herself. The case of Aristides, is, I think, sufficient to distinguish the just from the unjust man. Tell me, is not this the Aristides, who (according to what you and the rest of the Greeks say) sailed to the isles to settle for them the rate of tribute, and who after having fixed it at a moderate valuation, returned in the same cloak in which he set out. The same, replied Apollonius, who formerly made the love of poverty flourish. Let us then, returned Thespesion, suppose two orators at Athens, who had undertaken to praise Aristides at his return from the allies, and that the one decreed him a crown, "because he had not returned richer by his embassy, and that, though the poorest man in Athens before he set out, had come back even poorer than what he was." And that the other proposed a law to this effect, "since Aristides has not imposed a tribute above what the allies are able to bear, and has taken care they should have no cause of complaint,

and should live in good understanding with the people of Athens, it is, and let it be decreed, that the honors of a crown be granted to him on account of his justice." Do not you think that Aristides would set himself in opposition to the first decree, as being inadequate to his conduct, inasmuch as it offered him a reward for not having done any thing that was evil, and that he might probably approve the second for having truly expressed what was the real end and drift of his conduct, for he, looking only to the real interest of Athens and her allies, fixed the tribute at a moderate rate, which appeared evident after his death. For as soon as the Athenians increased their taxes above the valuation set by Aristides, their naval power, which rendered them so formidable, declined; on the contrary, the power of the Lacedemonians rose at sea, when nothing survived of her rival's greatness. The consequence was, that all who were subject to the dominion of Athens, run into revolt, rebellion, and innovation. From what has been said, Apollonius, it appears, that the just man, in the right acceptation of the word, is not he who is not unjust, but he who acts justly, and does all he can to prevent others acting unjustly. From such justice many virtues will spring, and above all those of a juridical and legislatorial nature. For such a man gives his opinion with more equity, than he who swears on the dissected parts of a victim. The laws made by him will be like those of Solon and Lycurgus of old, for justice will predominate at the making of them. This, says Damis, is what passed on the subject of the just man, to which he added, Apollonius gave his full assent, it being ever his custom to yield to right reason.

CHAP. XXII.

AFTER philosophizing for some time on the immortality of the soul and nature, in a way not unlike what is to be

found in Plato's *Temæus*, and after some long dissertations on the state of the laws at present in force in Greece, Apollonius concluded with saying, that he had undertaken that journey for the sake of not only seeing them, but the sources of the Nile, which not to have seen, might be pardonable in a man who had only visited Egypt, but to him who had penetrated into Ethiopia, the not seeing them and learning something of their nature, would be shameful indeed. Go in a good hour, said Thespesion, and pay whatever vows you please to its sources, for therein resides a divinity. You shall have, I think, Timasion for a guide, formerly of Naucratis, but now of Memphis, one well acquainted with the sources of that river, and so pure as not to require any expiation. As to you, Nilus, we wish to have some private conversation with you, the meaning of which was no secret to Apollonius, who well knew that the Gymnosophists were not satisfied with Nilus for his attachment to him. However, to give them an opportunity of speaking to him, he left them to prepare for his journey, which he intended to begin at sun-rise. Nilus soon after returned, but said nothing of what passed; he only now and then laughed by himself. No one asked him why he did so, from the respect each man had for secrecy. They then supped, and after some conversation on matters of indifference, went to sleep.

CHAP. XXIII.

AT day-break they took their leave of the Gymnosophists after the customary salutations, and began their journey towards the mountains, with the Nile to their left, making observations on whatever was most remarkable. The Catadupæ* are mountains of earth, like Tmolus in

* Philostratus speaks here of the Catadupæ, as the mountains through

Lydia. The Nile runs furiously through them, and with the soil, which it washes down from them, forms Egypt. The noise made by the waters rushing from these mountains, and tumbling into the bed of the Nile, is dreadful, and insupportable to the ear: and many who have approached them nearer than they ought, have lost the use of that sense.

C H A P. XXIV.

WHILST Apollonius and his companions proceeded on their way, they approached certain hills abounding in trees,* whose leaves, bark, and gum, were turned to advantage by the Ethiopians. Near the road they saw lions, panthers, and several other kinds of wild beasts, of which not one offered them the least violence, but all retired as if afraid of men. Several other animals besides were seen by them, together with deer, and goats, and ostriches,† and wild asses. *Boves-silvestres*,‡ and *Hircoboves* were in great abundance, of which the former partook of the nature of the ox and the stag; and the latter of the ox and the goat, from which the name is directly derived. They found some bones and carcasses half

through which pour the cataracts. Others speak of them as the cataracts themselves, and some as the inhabitants of them. As to the Catadupes, says Pococke, those high cataracts that fall with such noise that they make the inhabitants deaf, I take all these accounts to be fabulous.

* Olearius supposes he means the tree *Myrobalanum*.

† Στρεθος—or rather στρεθοκαμηλος—a word derived from στρεθος, which signifies a sparrow, or a bird in general, and καμηλος, a camel, on account of the resemblance which the ostrich bears to that quadruped.

‡ The particular animals alluded to under the appellation of βοαγροι, and βετραγοι. I have not been able to ascertain.

devoured. For lions,* it is said, when once gorged with fresh prey, mind but little what is left, from an assurance of always finding new spoils.

CHAP. XXV.

THE country they were now in, was inhabited by Ethiopian Nomades, a people dwelling in waggons as in cities. Their nearest neighbours were they who hunt the elephant, whose flesh they cut in pieces and sell, hence their name of Elephantophagi. The Nasamones,† and the Androphagi,‡ the Pygmies,§ and Sciapodes,|| are all found in Ethiopia, dwelling on the coasts of the Ethiopian sea, which is never wont to be visited by mortals, except when driven to it by tempests, and against their wills.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILST our travellers were talking of what wild beasts they had seen, and of nature, which gives to each

* The lion cannot justly be branded with cruelty, since he acts from necessity, and kills no more than he consumes. While the tiger, the wolf, &c. delight in slaughter, and seem rather to gratify their rage than their hunger. B.

† Nasamones, an uncivilized people of Lybia, who generally lived upon plunder. HERODOTUS, Melp. c. 172.

‡ The Androphagi of Ethiopia are mentioned by Pliny.

§ Pygmies—Philostratus in his *Icones*, mentions that Hercules once fell asleep in the deserts of Africa, after he had conquered Antæus, and that he was suddenly awakened by an attack, which had been made upon his body by an army of pygmies, who discharged their arrows with great fury upon his arms and legs. The hero was so delighted with their courage, that he wrapped a great number of them in the skin of the Nemean lion, and carried them to Eurystheus. This story might have suggested to the genius of Swift, the idea of his *Lilliputians*.

|| Sciapodes. See b. iii. c. 45.

its proper nourishment, a noise reached their ears like that of thunder, not loud, but hollow, as if shut up within clouds. Whereupon Timasion cried out, we are near the cataract which is the last one to the descending, but the first to the ascending traveller.* From hence advancing about ten stadia, their report is, that they saw the river falling from a mountain, not less than the Marsyas and Meander at their conflux. Here they offered up their prayers to the Nile, and proceeded without seeing any more wild beasts. As these animals are, by nature, timid and afraid of every noise, they prefer dwelling near still waters, and keep far from such as tumble down precipices, making loud uproar. Going on about fifteen stadia farther, they heard the sound of another cataract, which was both terrible and insupportable to the hearing, twice louder than the first, as it fell from much higher mountains. Damis says his ears, and those of one of his fellow-travellers, were so much affected by it, that he withdrew, and begged Apollonius might not go farther, who notwithstanding this remonstrance, advanced boldly with Timasion and Nilus to the third cataract,† of which, when he came back, he said, that the rocks which there hung over the Nile, were eight stadia high, that the bank over against the mountains, reared itself aloft, and looked like an eminence cut out of stone in a most wonderful manner, that the waters which burst from these mountains broke over this rock with great violence, and fell foaming and

* This I suppose is the cataract of Syene, and which is described by Bruce in the first vol. of his Travels—he says, “the current of the Nile, confined for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence.” He concludes with saying that, “the noise it makes, fills the mind with confusion rather than with terror.”

† This cataract, Bruce says, was the most magnificent sight he ever beheld.

raging into the Nile.* He added, that accidents were more frequent here by reason of the greater quantity of water,† than at any of the other cataracts, that the noise occasioned by the rebounding echoes through the mountains, was the cause of its not being contemplated without great pain to the hearing, and that all farther proceeding to the first fountains, was not only difficult to be effected, but to be even imagined. They told many strange things of the demons there, not unlike what Pindar speaks so learnedly of in his hymns, of the demon which he makes preside over those springs, for the regulation of the Nile.

CHAP. XXVII.

AFTER visiting the cataracts, Apollonius and his companions stopped in a small village in Ethiopia, where, whilst they were at supper, they amused themselves with a variety of conversation both grave and gay. On a sudden was heard a confused uproar, as if from the women of the village exhorting each other to seize and pursue. They called to the men for assistance, who immediately sallied forth, snatching up sticks and stones, with whatever other weapons they chanced to find, shouting all the time as if some violence was offered to their wives. All this hubbub arose from a satyr‡ having made his appear-

* The noise it made was truly terrible—which stunned, and made him for a time, perfectly dizzy. BRUCE.

† The river fell in one sheet of water, without any interval, above half an English mile in breadth. The noise it made was like the loudest thunder, and made the solid rock (at least as to sense) shake to its very foundation. BRUCE.

‡ Or rather, I should suppose, the confusion arose from an *Orang-Outang* having made his appearance, whose dispositions perfectly correspond with those attributed to the whole race of satyrs by the ancient poets. Buffon says the *Orang-Outang*, or *Satyrus Silvester*, is

ance, who for ten months past had infested the village. This satyr was very fond of women, and, as was said, had been the death of two, whom he had seemed most attached to. The moment Apollonius perceived his friends were alarmed at this, he said, don't be terrified, it is only a satyr who is saucy to the women. By Jupiter, said Nilus, he is one whom our college of Gymnosophists have been unable to make desist from such improper conduct. For my part, said Apollonius, there is but one remedy to be used in cases of such kind of insolence, and is what Midas had recourse to. He was himself of the race of the satyrs, as appeared plainly by his ears. A satyr once invited himself to his house, on the ground of consanguinity, and whilst he was his guest, libelled his ears in a copy of verses, which he set to music and played on his harp. Midas who was instructed, as I think, by his mother, learnt from her, that if a satyr was made drunk with wine and fell asleep, he recovered his senses and became quite a new creature. A fountain happening to be near his palace, he mixed it with wine, to which he sent the satyr, who drank till he was quite overcome with it. Now to shew you that this is not all mere fable, let us go to the governor of the village, and if the inhabitants have any wine, let us make the satyr drink, and I will be answerable for what happened in the case of the satyr of Midas. All were willing to try the experiment, and immediately four Egyptian amphoras of wine, were poured into the pond in which the cattle of the village were accustomed to drink. Apollonius invited the satyr to drink, and added, along with the invitation, some private menaces in case of refusal. The satyr did not appear, nevertheless the wine sunk as if it was drank. When the

an ape, as tall and strong as a man, and equally ardent for women as for its own females, who knows how to bear arms, to attack his enemies with stones, and to defend himself with clubs.

pond was emptied, Apollonius said, let us offer libations to the satyr, who is now fast asleep. After saying this, he carried the men of the village to the cave of the nymphs, which was not more than the distance of a plethron* from the hamlet, where after shewing them the satyr asleep, he ordered them to give him no ill usage, either by beating or abusing him ; for, says he, I will answer for his good behaviour for the time to come. This is the action of Apollonius, which by Jupiter, I consider as what gave greatest lustre to his travels, and which was in truth, their great feat. Any one who has perused the letter, which he wrote to a dissipated young man, wherein he tells him he had tamed a satyr in Ethiopia, must call to mind this story. Consequently no doubt can now remain of the existence of satyrs, and of their amorous inclinations. When I was myself in Lemnos I remember one of my contemporaries, whose mother, they said, was visited by a satyr formed according to all the traditional accounts we have of that race of beings. He wore a deer's skin on his shoulders, which exactly fitted him, the fore-feet of which, encircling his neck, were fastened on his breast. But of this I shall say no more, as I am sensible credit is due to experience, as well as to me.†

CHAP. XXVIII.

AFTER Apollonius returned from Ethiopia, the difference between him and Euphrates widened by daily disputes. Euphrates, however he resigned to Menippus and

* A plethron about 100 feet.

† Voila, says Du Pin, le sommaire de la relation du voyage d'Apollone en Ethiopie, comme il est rapporté par Philostrate. Je laissa à juger aux personnes de bon sens, si ce n'est pas plutôt un roman qu'une histoire.

Nilus, and said little against him, whilst he shewed particular attention to Nilus.

CHAP. XXIX.

AFTER Titus had taken Jerusalem, and filled all places with the dead, the nations round about offered him crowns, of which he did not think himself deserving. Saying, that it was not he who performed such mighty deeds, and that he only lent his arm to God in the just exercise of his vengeance. This answer was approved by Apollonius as being a proof of the wisdom of Titus, and of his knowledge in divine and human things, as also of his great moderation in declining to be crowned for having shed blood. He then wrote Titus a letter, which he wished to be carried by Damis, to the following effect,

“Apollonius to Titus, Emperor of the Romans,
health.

“To you who refusest being crowned, on account of your success in war, and the destruction of your enemies, I give the crown of moderation, seeing you are so well acquainted with the reasons entitling you to that honour. Farewel.”

Titus was well pleased with this letter, and said, In my own name, and that of my father, I hold myself your debtor, and will be mindful of you. I have taken Jerusalem, but you have taken me.

CHAP. XXX.

AS soon as Titus was declared Emperor, and invested with the imperial dignity, he set out for Rome to become

colleague with his father. But first thinking of what consequence it might be to him, to have even a short conference with Apollonius, he requested him to come to Argos for that purpose. On his arrival there, Titus embraced him, and said, my father has written to me of all he wished you to know. At present I have a letter, wherein he says he considers you as his benefactor, and one to whom we are indebted for what we are. I am only thirty years of age, and have arrived at the same honours my father did at sixty. I am called on to govern, before perhaps I have learnt to obey, and I have my fears of engaging to do what I am not equal to perform. Apollonius then stroking Titus's neck, which was like that of an athlete, said, who could subject to the yoke a bull with so fine a neck? He who reared me from a calf, replied Titus. In this answer Titus alluded to his father, under whose discipline he had been educated from a boy. When Apollonius heard this, I rejoice first at the readiness with which you obey your father, (to whom they who are not his children have pleasure in paying their obedience) and next at seeing you as a client waiting at his threshold. When a kingdom is directed by the vigor of youth, and wisdom of age, what lyre, or flute, can produce such sweet and harmonious music. The virtues of old age and youth will be united; and the consequence will be that the former will acquire vigor; and the latter decorum and order by the union.

CHAP. XXXI.

BUT, O Tyanean, said Titus, what advice have you to give concerning the best mode of governing an empire? None to you, answered Apollonius, who are self-instructed, by the manner in which you shew your obedience to your father, no doubt can be entertained of your becoming

like him. Yet I will tell you a saying of Archytas which is excellent and worthy of being remembered. Archytas* was a Tarentine, a man well versed in the doctrine of Pythagoras; in a treatise which he composed on the subject of Education, he says "Let a father be an example of virtue to his sons." A saying founded on the following consideration, that parents would be more zealous in the pursuit of virtue if they thought their sons would be like them. Added to this, I will give you my friend Demetrius as a companion to attend you, whenever you wish, and to advise you in what is good to be done. Pray, said Titus, in what does his wisdom consist? In liberty of speech, in speaking truth, in an intrepidity arising from a *cynical* spirit! At hearing the word *cynical* Titus was troubled, to whom Apollonius replied, Homer thought Telemachus† wanted two dogs on account of his youth, and therefore has introduced both as his companions into the council of the Ithacans, though without reason. But your dog shall be Demetrius, who will bark for you against others, and against yourself, if in any thing you offend; and this he will always do with wisdom, and never without reason. Give me then, says Titus, this dog companion,

* Archytas, son of Hestæus of Tarentum, was a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy, and an able astronomer and geometrician. He redeemed his master Plato from the hands of the tyrant Dionysius, and for his virtues was seven times chosen by his fellow citizens governor of Tarentum. He perished in a shipwreck about 394 years before the Christian Æra.

"Thee, whose great mind could scan earth's wide domains,

"Trace the vast deep, the countless sands explore,

"Archytas, thee one narrow bed contains,

"One lonely spot on the Matinian shore.

HOR. Ode 28, b. i. BOSCAWEN.

Archytas is said to have made a wooden pigeon that could fly.

† Bright in his hand, a pond'rous jav'lin shin'd

Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind. POPE. Od. ii.

who shall have my full permission to bite me, whenever he finds me acting as I ought not. I have a letter, said Apollonius, ready to send to him to Rome, where I understand he is now philosophizing. I am glad of it, said Titus, I wish some one would write to you in my favour, and recommend your accompanying me in my journey. To this Apollonius replied, you may depend on seeing me, whenever it shall be to the advantage of both.

CHAP. XXXII.

AS soon as Titus found himself alone with Apollonius, he said, O Tyanean, will you permit me to ask you some questions which are of great moment to me? With pleasure, returned Apollonius, ask, and let your confidence in doing so, be in proportion to the magnitude of what you ask. I would ask, said Titus, of things touching my life, and of the persons I should guard against, for I would not wish to shew fear where none exists, being already under some apprehensions. Herein, replied Apollonius, you will be but prudent and circumspect, and of all men I think it is your duty to be on your guard. Then looking up to the heavens, he swore by the sun, he would have addressed him on this subject, even if no question had been proposed: for the Gods commanded him to declare to Titus, that, during his father's life, he should guard against his greatest enemies, and after his death against his most intimate friends. Titus then asked of what kind of death he should die? Of the same, said Apollonius Ulysses* did, who is said to have received his death from the sea. This prediction was in-

* Unknown to pain, in age resign thy breath,
When late stern Neptune points the shaft with death.

Od. POPE. 11. 134.

terpreted by Damis, who said 'Titus should beware of the sting of the fish Trygon,* with which it is affirmed Ulysses was wounded. From history we learn, that Titus, after reigning two years, died of eating a *Lepus Marinus*,† a fish from which, they say, issues a secret liquor which, of all poisons derived from land or sea, is the most deadly to man. A liquor which Nero was wont to mix up in victuals for his greatest enemies, and which Domitian‡ afterwards gave to his brother Titus, not from thinking there would be any difficulty in having him for a colleague in the empire, but from not wishing to have a colleague possessed of a mild and benevolent temper. This was the substance of what passed in private between Apollonius and Titus. In public they embraced each other, and as Titus was taking his leave of him, Apollonius said to him with a loud voice, vanquish your enemies in arms, and surpass your father in virtues.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE letter which Apollonius wrote to Demetrius was to the following effect.

“ Apollonius the philosopher to the dog Demetrius,
health.

“ I give you to the Emperor Titus, in order that you

* Celsus says, the fish we call *Pastinaca*, the Greeks call *Trygon*—It has a poisonous sting in its tail, than which, says Pliny, nothing is more detestable, and pernicious. Nicander is the only author, who says Ulysses was killed by this poison; he mentions it in his *Theriacs*.

† *Lepus marinus*, a venomous fish, whose poison was given by Domitian to his brother. See Pliny.

‡ I believe Philostratus is the only writer who ascribes the death of Titus to his brother Domitian.

may instruct him in all royal virtues. Justify what I have said of you, be everything to him, but everything without anger. Farewel."

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE people of Tarsus of old bore no kindness to Apollonius, because neither his continual reproaches, nor the language in which he conveyed them, were adapted to their soft and effeminate manners; however, at this time they loved him, as much as if he had been their founder and the great support of their city. It happened once when Titus was sacrificing in public, that the whole city assembled presented a petition to him, which contained matters of the greatest moment. He said he would present it to his father, and perform the duties of an ambassador for them. When he said this, Apollonius came forward, and thus addressed him, suppose I could prove to you that some of the persons present are both enemies to you and your father, that they came to Jerusalem on an embassy for the purpose of exciting revolt, and that they privately gave assistance to those who were in arms against you; if I could prove all this, what do you think they would deserve? Nothing, replied Titus, but instant death. And are you not ashamed, said Apollonius, to shew more promptitude in punishing delinquents, than in rewarding those who never offended; and in assuming to yourself authority sufficient to punish, whilst you defer that of recompensing, till you have seen and conferred with your father. Titus was not displeased with this mode of reasoning, and said, I grant them their petition, as I know my father will not be angry with me for having submitted to truth and you.

CHAP. XXXV.

HITHERTO have been enumerated the many countries visited by Apollonius for the purpose of giving instruction to them, or receiving it from them. The journeys which he afterwards made, were also numerous, but were neither so long as the foregoing, nor to nations unvisited before. After his return from Ethiopia he passed some time in that part of Egypt which stretches along the sea coast called Lower Egypt. He visited also the Phenicians, Cilicians, Ionians, and Acheans; and again passed some time with the Italians, but never omitting, wherever he went, to shew that he was always the same, and like himself. Though the maxim of *nosce teipsum* is hard to be acquired, yet what I consider as the hardest of all acquisitions is that of a wise man remaining always the same. He will make little or no improvement in the corrupt minds of others, who has not so ordered his own, as to appear not subject to any change. On this subject I have written some discourses (to be found in another place) whose object is to teach those, who will take the trouble of reading them, that he who is really entitled to the name of man, cannot change, or be reduced to slavery. However, not to detain you with a too minute account of all his philosophical discourses, nor on the other hand lightly measure over a history which I compile, not without trouble, for the instruction of those who are unacquainted with the man, I have thought it my duty to relate such of his actions as are most memorable and shining. Such actions should be regarded as like to the visits of physicians.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THERE was at this time a young man who spent his time in teaching birds to sing and speak, and who literally lived with them for that purpose. He taught them to speak like men, and imitate the notes of a flute. Apollonius meeting him one day, said, pray young man what is your employment? But he talked of nothing except nightingales, and blackbirds, and what was most proper to improve the notes of herons, having all the while a wretched voice himself. Whereupon Apollonius said to him, I think you spoil the voices of birds, in the first place by not letting them use their own, which are far beyond all musical instruments, and in the next place by making them the pupils of your own ignorance, which you do by speaking the Greek tongue so ill to them. Besides, you waste your fortune to no purpose, for when I look to your servants and equipage, I must rank you with the rich and luxurious, who are but sponges to be squeezed by the hands of sycophants, whose tongues are as sharp as so many swords against them. And then what will become of your study of ornithology? For though you should bring all the nightingales in the world to sing in concert, you will not be able to banish those parasites which will stick to you, and never quit you; you will be obliged to lavish your substance on them, and throw your gold to them as you would puddings to dogs. And notwithstanding you do all this, you will not keep them from barking for more and more, till at last you become yourself destitute of food, and be reduced to beggary. You must undergo an illustrious conversion, with an entire change of manners, to save yourself from being unknown to yourself, *deplumed* of all you have, and of being made a subject more to be lamented by the birds, than celebrated by them in their songs. The means for effecting this con-

version are not difficult. In every city is to be found an order of men of whom as yet you are ignorant, called *magistri*, or masters. By giving them a small part of your property, you will make yourself sure of the remainder, and from them you will learn that kind of eloquence which is termed *forensick*: an art not difficult to be acquired. If I had been acquainted with you in your youth, I should have advised you to frequent the doors of the sophists and philosophers; and to fence round your house with every kind of knowledge. But as the time of making these intellectual acquirements is gone by, learn now, at least, an eloquence that will defend yourself; and remember, that had you acquired a more perfect kind of knowledge, you would have resembled a soldier rendered formidable by his heavy armour; even yet, should you learn the art of rhetoric, you will have the armour worn by the light troops, and with it will be able to drive away sycophants as you would dogs. The young man fully sensible of what was said, gave up his passion for birds, and frequented the schools of the *masters*, by whom the powers of his understanding and language were improved and augmented.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THERE were two stories prevalent at Sardis, one was, that the Pactolus* of old supplied Cræsus with his gold, and the other that the trees were older than the earth. The first Apollonius said was probably true, because it was known that the mountain Tmolus contained gold dust, which, when loosened by the rains, was carried down the

* Strabo observes that the Pactolus had no golden sands in his age.

stream ; but that by long lapse of time it ceased, as is usual in such like cases. The other story of the trees being older than the earth, he laughed at, for no man who had ever studied philosophy, could suppose the stars older than the sky ; it being even his opinion that nothing can exist before the subject exists by which it is supported.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

WHILST the governor of Syria was stirring up sedition at Antioch and sowing dissension among the citizens, by means of which the city was disturbed and divided into factions, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt, which so terrified the inhabitants that they run into all the holes and corners they could find, as is customary in like prodigies, and poured out prayers for each others safety. On this occasion Apollonius happened to be present, who thus said, A God has manifested himself among you for a restoration of peace. Henceforth I trust you will not for the time to come fall into similar dissensions, from a full sense of what has now happened. He then suggested what might be expected from internal divisions, which was a fate like to what had befallen the other cities of Asia.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE following circumstance is thought worth noticing. A certain man was offering sacrifices to the earth, in hopes of finding a treasure, and whilst thus employed, scrupled not addressing Apollonius on the subject of his petition. Apollonius understanding what he wished, said, I see plainly how much your heart is fixed on riches. Say not so, replied the poor man, but rather say I am unhappy:

I have but a small fortune, and that scarcely enough to support my family. What, said Apollonius, I suppose you have a numerous family to maintain, and that it contributes but little towards its support: for as to yourself you do not appear of the number of the unwise. The man shedding some tears at this, said, I have four daughters, and it will be necessary to give each of them a portion: I have myself only twenty thousand drachmas, which when divided amongst them, will be but little to each; and I shall be ruined, as nothing will be left for me. Apollonius hearing this, had compassion on him, and said, The earth and I will take care of you, for I am assured you offer sacrifices to her. After this, without saying more, he walked into the suburbs of the city, like one who seemed as if he intended to buy fruit. Whilst there, he happened to see a piece of ground planted with olive-trees, whose height and beauty pleased him: and in it he discovered a little garden abounding with bees and flowers. He entered this garden like one who wished to examine it better, and after offering up his prayers to Pandora, returned back to the city. He then went in quest of the owner of the ground, whose fortune had been acquired by the most unjustifiable means, (in fact it was acquired by information given against the Phenicians, or Jews, by which their properties were confiscated) and when found, he asked him for what he had bought the farm, and what he had laid out in improving it? The owner told him he purchased it the year before for fifteen thousand drachmas, on which he had not as yet made any improvement. On hearing this, Apollonius persuaded him to sell it for twenty thousand drachmas, by which he would be a gainer of five thousand. The poor man who looked for the treasure, knew not the value of the present made him, he thought he had only got the worth of his money, nay, rather less, inasmuch as the twenty thousand drachmas, whilst they remained in his hands, were entirely in his own power; but the farm he got in place of

them was liable to hail and rain, and such other inclemencies of weather as are fatal to the productions of the earth. But when he found a pitcher of three thousand darics* in it not far from the Apiary, and had received a considerable produce from his olives, though the year was not productive, he celebrated Apollonius in hymns, whilst suitors flocked from all quarters to woo his daughters, and pay their respects to the father.

CHAP. XL.

AMONG the memorabilia of Apollonius, is noticed what follows. There was a young man who fell in love with the statue of Venus,† which stood naked in Gnidus. He made her many presents, and promised many more if she would marry him. All this Apollonius considered as very absurd: yet the Gnidians made no objection to it, on the contrary they encouraged it, from thinking the Goddess would acquire greater celebrity by being beloved. This is what made Apollonius take the resolution of clearing the temple from such a folly. The Gnidians asked if he wished to make any reformation in their prayers and sacrifices? All Apollonius said to this, was, that he would improve their sight, but that the rites and ceremonies of the

* Daric—a famous piece of gold coined by Darius, not the father of Xerxes, but one more ancient. It was dispersed over the East, and also Greece: so that the Persian Daric called Stater, was the gold coin best known in Athens. According to Dr. Bernard it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but as it was remarkably beautiful, of the finest and purest gold, and contained little or no alloy, it may be reckoned worth about 25 shillings of our money.—It bore the image of Darius, and on the reverse, a chariot drawn by mules.

† Miratur, et haurit

Pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes.

OVID.

temple he would leave as he found them. Then turning to the love-sick youth, he asked him if he believed in the existence of the Gods? So much so, said he, as that I have fallen in love with them; and then he began to talk of his marriage as a matter that might be brought about after the due performance of certain sacrifices. When Apollonius heard this, he said, Thou fool, it is the poets who have inspired you with this folly, who in their fables have talked of the loves of Anchises and Venus, and Peleus and Thetis. But of mutual love, my opinion is this, that Gods love Gods, men love men, and beasts love beasts; and that every thing loves its like, by which it produces what is of the same nature with itself. If a being of one species unites with that of a different one, it cannot render either love or marriage permanent. If you had called to mind the story of Ixion, you would never have thought of falling in love with what is unlike yourself. He is whirled through the heavens like a wheel; and you will be undone if you do not instantly quit this temple: and will have no cause to complain of the injustice of the Gods. This remonstrance extinguished the flame with which the youth was on fire, who, instead of making a boast of his love, went away to offer sacrifice for his pardon.

CHAP. XLI.

AT this time the towns situate on the left side of the Hellespont were subject to earthquakes. Certain Egyptians and Chaldeans taking advantage of the alarm, went up and down through them, collecting what money they could, under pretence of offering to Neptune and Tellus, a sacrifice which would cost ten talents. Both towns and individuals, whilst under the impression of terror, contributed what they could from their public and private

stock; these cheats having declared no sacrifices could be offered till the money was lodged in the hands of their bankers. Apollonius resolving not to neglect the interest of the Hellespontines, went through their towns, and drove* out of them those wandering impostors, who were making gain of their misfortunes. Then inquiring into the cause of the anger of Tellus and Neptune, he offered the proper expiatory sacrifices to each, and by this means averted the danger which hung over them at a small expense, and the earth got some rest.

CHAP. XLII.

ABOUT this time the Emperor Domitian issued a decree, forbidding the further making of eunuchs,† and planting vines,‡ with a clause added to the latter prohibition, which commanded such as were planted to be cut down. Apollonius happening to come into Ionia, said, these orders of the Emperor do not affect me, for of all men living, I stand least in need of wine and the organs of generation: but our most admirable Domitian does not perceive, that though he spares men, he nevertheless castrates the earth. By what Apollonius said, the Ionians assumed courage sufficient to send ambassadors to the Emperor, with orders to do all they could to prevent the execution of a law tending to the great injury of the earth, by commanding them not to plant it with vines.

* Philostratus does not tell us by what authority Apollonius did this.

† Castrari mares vetuit.

SUETONIUS.

‡ Edixit ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provincis vineta succiderentur.

IDEM.

C H A P. XLIII.

WHAT happened whilst Apollonius was at Tarsus, is mentioned to his honour. There was a mad dog that assaulted a young man, and bit him, in consequence of which the youth imitated all the cries of a dog, he barked, he howled, &c. he walked on all fours, making use of his two hands in running. As soon as Apollonius heard of the accident, he went to see the young man, who had been now thirty days ill. As soon as he saw him, he ordered the dog that bit him to be produced, but the people of whom he inquired about the dog, said they had never seen him, as the accident happened outside the walls of the town, at the time the young man was employed in the exercise of throwing the javelin. Apollonius next inquired of his patient what sort of dog he was, who told him he knew nothing of him : then considering the case for some time, he said, The dog, Damis, is white and shaggy, of the shepherd's breed, and is like an Amphilo-chian dog. He is at this moment standing near a certain fountain which he named, wishing both to drink the water and fearing it. Go and bring him to the bank of the river, to where the Palestra is :* to do this, you have only to say I want him. As was desired, Damis brought the dog, who, when he came, lay down at the feet of Apollonius, moaning like a suppliant at the altar. Apollonius made the dog more docile, by stroaking him with his hand ; he placed the youth near him, all the time holding fast the dog. That this grand arcanum might not pass unnoticed by the people, he declared in all their hearing, that the soul of Telephus had passed into the young man, and was

* The place where all the exercises of the Pentathlon, &c. were performed.

now subject to like orders of the Fates. After saying this, he ordered the dog to lick the sore, in order to shew that he who was the author of the wound should be the author of its cure.* After this operation, the youth turned to his father, knew his mother, saluted his companions, and drank of the water of the Cydnus. Apollonius was not forgetful of the dog, whom he made pass over the river, after offering up his prayers to it. Having crossed it, he stopped on the opposite bank, and set up such a barking as mad dogs are seldom wont to do, he then hung down his ears, and wagged his tail like one cured. Water becomes medicinal to dogs the moment they are able to endure it.† I have now related all Apollonius did in favour of temples and cities, for and against nations, for the dead and the sick, with the wise and the foolish; and with the princes, who consulted him on the subject of virtue.

* As Telephus was cured by the same spear with which he was wounded.

† On voit bien, says Du Pin, que tout cela est une production de l'imagination de l'auteur, et non pas un rapport sincere d'un fait veritable.

BOOK VII.—CONTENTS.

*An account of certain Philosophers in times of danger—
Apollonius superior to them—Cited to Rome—Ar-
rival there—Accused before Domitian—Thrown into
prison—Audience given him by the Emperor—
Greater indulgence allowed him in consequence.*

CHAP. I.

I AM not ignorant that the conduct of philosophers under despotic governments, is the truest touchstone of their character, and I like to consider how much one man exceeds another in courage on such occasions, and which to ascertain is the chief object of the following reflections. During the reign of Domitian, Apollonius was assailed on every side with accusations and informations; the causes whence and wherefore they originated, together with the pretexts under which they were concealed, shall be explained hereafter. But as it is necessary to specify the language he used, and the character he personated, under which he escaped guiltless, and at the same time overcame the tyrant, instead of being overcome; so it is equally necessary to notice what I find most remarkable in what has been done by other philosophers against tyrants, and to compare all with what Apollonius himself did, for it is by such comparison we shall come at the truth and a just appreciation of his character.

C H A P. II.

ZENO* of Elea, who is considered as the inventor of logic, was seized in the very act of planning the destruction of the tyranny of Nearchus† the Mysian. When put to the rack, he, far from discovering his accomplices, named all the tyrant's most intimate friends as guilty, who were all put to death: in this way he liberated Mysia, by ingeniously contriving to supplant tyranny by its own weapons. Plato‡ declares he entered into the design of restoring liberty to the Syracusans, by acting as an accomplice with Dion, who was at the head of it. Phyton§ when forced to quit Rhegium, fled to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, by whom he was admitted to a greater share of his confidence than an exile ought, by which he became acquainted with the tyrant's secrets, and having learnt that he designed to make himself master of Rhegium, he gave information of it to the citizens by letters, and was discovered. When taken, the tyrant had him fastened alive to one of his machines, which he ordered to be advanced to the walls, presuming that the Rhegians would not attack it with offensive weapons, out of regard to Phyton. The moment he understood it, he cried out, "Spare me not, for I am the signal of your liberty."

* Zeno of Elea, or Velia, in Italy, the disciple and adopted son of Parmenides, and the supposed inventor of dialectic. He lived 466 years before Christ.

† Nearchus was a Mysian, and tyrant of the Eleates.

‡ See life of Plato in Diogenes Laertius.

§ There is some disagreement between Philostratus and Diodorus, concerning Phyton—the latter says he was general of the people of Rhegium against Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, that he was taken by the enemy, and tortured; and his son thrown into the sea.—A. 387, before Christ.

Heraclides and Python,* who put to death Cotys the Thracian, were young men of the academic school, both wise, and consequently free.† Who is ignorant of what was done by Calisthenes‡ the Olynthian, who on the same day, both praised and censured the Macedonians, when at the summit of their greatness, and yet every one knows he was put to death the moment he appeared disagreeable to them. Let us not forget Diogenes of Sinope, and Crates of Thebes,§ the one immediately after the battle of Cheronea, waiting on Philip, rebuked him sharply on account of the Athenians, (of whom Heraclides said, he has destroyed by arms a people too vain of their military glory) and the other, when Alexander told him he would rebuild Thebes, said, he did not want a country, which a more powerful man might again destroy. Many other examples might be adduced in point, but as my object does not admit of prolixity, I shall omit them; for otherwise I should be obliged to speak against actions already noticed, not from their want of merit or general approbation, but from their being inferior to what were performed by Apollonius, though superior to what have been done by others.

CHAP. III.

THE actions of Zeno of Elea, and of those who killed Cotys, are not to be compared with what Apollonius

* Two brothers who put to death Cotys, in revenge for the death of their father, for which they were invested with the rights of citizenship by the Athenians.

† Agreeable to the dogma of the Stoics, which says, "Solus sapiens liber."

‡ See the life of Alexander.

§ Crates was a disciple of Diogenes, before Christ 324.

did. It is easy to enslave Thracians, Mysians, and Getæ, but it is imprudent to make them free, because they do not love liberty, nor consider, as I think, servitude a disgrace. Plato shewed no great wisdom in determining to meliorate the public affairs of Sicily, in preference to those of Athens: because it appeared that money was his object, and that he who thought to deceive others, was deceived himself; but this I dare not say, from regard to those who do not like to hear it. What Phyton did at Rhegium against Dionysius, was done against him before his power was fully established in Sicily, and if he had not been pierced by the darts of its citizens, must have fallen by the hands of the tyrant. But in all this I find nothing extraordinary, for he only preferred dying, on account of giving liberty to others, to that of living in slavery himself. Calisthenes cannot escape the imputation of depravity, because, by praising and blaming the same persons, he either blamed those whom he thought deserved praise, or praised those whom he thought deserved blame. Hence it follows, that he who insults the good, will never escape being thought envious; and in the same manner, he who praises and flatters the wicked, will be considered as participating in their crimes, because the praise which is lavished on them, only renders them the more wicked. Had Diogenes spoken his mind to Philip before the battle of Cheronea, he might have prevented* his making war on the Athenians; but having only done it after the action was over, he rebuked and did not correct. Crates merits blame from all men who love the public good, because he did not confirm Alexander in the design he conceived of rebuilding Thebes. But Apollonius, with-

* Prevented Philip: prevented Buonaparte: a cynic speaking out of a tub to prevent Philip making war. "Such men fetch their precepts from the cynic tub."

out having any apprehensions either for his own safety or that of his country, and without even the necessity of humbling himself to make insipid harangues, had to deal, not with Mysians or Getæ, or with a man who was only master of an island or some small territory; but with one whom both sea and land obeyed; against him Apollonius took up arms for the good of his subjects, after having displayed the same courage he had done against Nero.

CHAP. IV.

WHOEVER pleases, I know, may consider all Apollonius did against Nero, as matter of mere ostentation, inasmuch as he did not march out in battle against him; but at the same time it is well known he considerably weakened his power, by the encouragement he gave to Vindex in his revolt, and the reproaches he poured out against Tigellinus.* I know also, that his attacking Nero, let what will be said of it, required no great courage, as he was one who only led the life of a player on the lyre or harp. But supposing it was so, what will they say of Domitian,† a man of a most robust constitution, an enemy to all the pleasures arising from vocal or instrumental harmony, which tends to soften man's rugged nature,‡ a monster, whose luxury of delight was derived from the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures, and whatever gave them pain; who said, that the distrust of the people

* See b. v. c. 10. B. iv. c. 40.

† Domitian was of tall stature, of ruddy countenance, and of person comely and graceful. Suetonius.

‡ Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans: "cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur." Tacitus.

towards tyrants, and tyrants towards their people, was the phylactery, or charm, that supported power, and to sum up all, that it was during the night an Emperor should cease from all work, except that of death and slaughter. Hence it came to pass that the senate was mutilated* of its best members; and philosophy so panick-struck, that† some‡ of its professors fled in disguise to the farthest parts of Gaul, others to the deserts of Libya and Scythia, and some there were who embraced the doctrines most suitable to the fashionable vices of the age. At this time Apollonius was what Tiresias says of himself in the *Œdipus*‡ of Sophocles, "I am Apollo's subject and not thine," he always considered wisdom as his sovereign mistress, and defended liberty under Domitian. The words of Tiresias and Sophocles he applied to himself; he never entertained any fears for his own life, but was deeply affected with what caused the misfortunes of others. This was the true cause of his turning against the tyrant all who were young in the senate, and all in whom he found either wisdom or council. He made journeys into the several provinces, he talked to their governors, said the power of tyrants was not immortal, and was easily subverted by its own fears. He set before their eyes the panathenea of Athens, at which the exploits of Harmodius and Aristogiton were celebrated;§ and the deed proceeding from Phyle, which brought on

* *Ἀκρωτηρίαζω*—mutilate, to deprive of some essential part.

† When Domitian was Emperor, the philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of the city: and banished Italy, at which time the philosopher Epictetus went from Rome to Nicopolis on account of that decree. AULUS GELLIUS.

‡ *Œdipus Tyrannus*.

§ For when Thrasybulus fled to Phyle, which is a very strong castle in Attica, (not a hundred stadia distant from Athens) he had no more with him than thirty of his countrymen. "Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum, &c." C. NEPOS.

the destruction of the thirty tyrants. He called to their remembrance the patriotic exploits of the Romans, who, when the power of the people prevailed, drove tyranny from their doors.

CHAP. V.

A CERTAIN tragedian came to Ephesus, to represent there the play of Ino.* The proconsul of Asia happened to be present during the representation, who, notwithstanding his youth, had considerable rank among the *Viri Consulares*; but whose character wanted firmness in matters which concerned the public. After the actor had recited some iambics, in which Euripides says, that tyrants of long established power, were sometimes over-set by very trifles, Apollonius, it is said, started up, and cried out, This poltron of a governor neither understands me nor Euripides.

CHAP. VI.

WHEN Apollonius was informed that Domitian had put to death three vestal virgins,† who had violated their

* A tragedy of Euripides—not existing at this day—but the passage alluded to here, is to be found among the valuable fragments preserved by Stobæus, a Greek writer who flourished about the year 405 of the Christian Æra. I shall give the passage in the elegant translation of Grotius.

Video tyrannos longa quos fovit dies,
Ut sæpe res exigua momento brevi
Deturbet, alios rursus in Cælum levet.
Pennata res fortuna—tam multos ego
Vidi supinos spe procul volvi sua.

† The lewdness of the virgins, denominated vestal, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished severely. SÆTONIUS.

vow of virginity, sworn to the Ilian Minerva,* and neglected the holy fire, as a rich atonement to the Roman Vesta, he said, I wish atonement was made to you, O Sun, for all the unjust murders committed throughout the world. These things he said, and these petitions he offered up, not in private as cowards are wont, but in public and before all people.

CHAP. VII.

DOMITIAN, after putting to death Sabinus,† one of his relations, married Julia, who was his widow and his own niece, she being one of his brother Titus's daughters: on account of this marriage, the people of Ephesus offered a public sacrifice. Apollonius happening to be present, exclaimed, O night of the Danaids, how singular hast thou been.‡

CHAP. VIII.

ALL Apollonius had to do at Rome, was done in this manner. Nerva was often thought worthy to reign, and it appeared, that when he mounted the throne after the death of Domitian, he ruled with great moderation. The

* The statue of Pallas stood in the temple of Vesta, where she is represented holding in her hand the Palladium, or the Minerva Iliensis.

† He also put to death Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election into that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, declared him to the people, not consul, but Emperor. SÜETONIUS.

‡ In which the fifty daughters of Danaus, put to death their fifty husbands, their cousins, one excepted, Hypermnestra, who saved her husband Lynceus.

same opinion was entertained of Orfitus* and Rufus.† These men, after being accused of traiterous designs against Domitian, were banished by him to the islands, and Nerva‡ was ordered not to leave Tarentum. With them Apollonius was closely connected all the time Titus reigned with his father, and after his father's death, when he reigned alone. With them Apollonius publicly corresponded on the subject of morality; them he attached to the Emperors interests, on account of their good characters; but he alienated them from Domitian, on account of his tyranny and pride, and encouraged them to stand forth in defence of the common liberty. Whilst Domitian lived, he thought it unsafe to carry on any epistolary correspondence whatever, as it was a fact, that many of the most powerful citizens were betrayed by their slaves, their friends, and their wives: and in short, that there was not a house to be found possessed of a secret. Apollonius, who was fully apprized of this, chose

* Salvidienus Orfitus, banished by Domitian, *quasi molitor rerum novarum*, as one who designed an insurrection against him.

SUETONIUS.

He was soon after put to death in the place of his exile.

† Rufus is supposed by Olearius to be Lucius Minucius Rufus, who was consul with Domitian, in the year of Christ, 88.

‡ If Nerva was banished, he returned home the same or the following year, for, Dion Cassius says, he was at Rome when Domitian was murdered; nay, that writer takes no notice of the banishment of Nerva, which makes us suspect the truth of what Philostratus writes, who is often guilty of very considerable mistakes. *Universal History*.

Nerva would have been put to death from his horoscope, had not an astrologer, who was his friend, diverted the Emperor from it, by saying that he had not long to live in the course of nature.

These three senators, Orfitus, Rufus, and Nerva, says Crevier, were men of great merit, and thought worthy of the empire, which Nerva afterwards obtained. But if we credit Philostratus, adds the same writer, Domitian's distrust of them was not groundless, for they all held a correspondence with Apollonius, who never ceased to exhort them to deliver the world from a tyrant.

out of his companions such as he thought most to be depended on for their prudence, and of them so chosen, he used to take apart, sometimes one and sometimes another, and would say to them, I will entrust you with a great secret. "You must go to Rome, and find such a one; and you must talk to him; and to persuade him to what you wish, you must be every thing I am." However, as soon as he heard that Orfitus and Rufus were banished for the spirit they shewed against the tyrant, and had only failed from want of due precaution, he took up his station at the grove of Smyrna, on the banks of the Meles,* and discoursed of fate and necessity.

CHAP. IX.

APOLLONIUS, knowing that Nerva was to succeed Domitian, spoke of it as a matter of public notoriety, and shewed that tyrants themselves were unable to resist the decrees of fate. Near the Meles stood a brazen statue of Domitian, upon which when Apollonius got the eyes of the spectators turned, he said, "Thou Fool, how little understandest thou the decrees of fate and necessity." For he whom they appoint to reign, will reign; though he should be put to death by you, he will again come to life to fulfil their laws.† These words were carried to Domitian by Euphrates the informer, but no one could guess to whom the oracle alluded, whether to Nerva,

* Homer called *Melesigenes*, from being supposed to be born on the banks of the Meles, and his compositions—*Meleteæ chartæ*.

"Posse Meleteas nec mallem vincere chartas." *Tibullus*.

† La doctrine d'Apollone sue le destin, says Du Pin, surpasse en extravagance tout ce qu'on peut imaginer. Whoever reasons as Apollonius does in this place and in others, on the subject of destiny, is a bad philosopher, and but a poor defender of the doctrine of fate and necessity; for if the end is ordained by the Fates, the means conducive to

Orfitus, or Rufus. Whereupon the tyrant, to free himself from every apprehension, determined to put them all three to death; and to the end that he might not appear to act without good reason, he cited Apollonius to appear before him to give an account of all his caballing with them. For Domitian was of opinion, that if Apollonius appeared, he would be found guilty, and then, that it might be supposed his accomplices would not suffer till after a fair hearing and conviction: or else, that if he should have the address to make his escape, that the rest must equally suffer, as being declared guilty by the flight of their associate.

CHAP. X.

WHILST Domitian was considering this, and writing to the proconsul of Asia to have Apollonius apprehended and brought to Rome, the Tyanean was apprized of it all as usual, by means of his Demon.* When he told his friends, he was going to undertake a very singular journey, some of them called to mind the story† of the ancient Abaris, and thought he was going to make a like one. However, without communicating his intention to Damis, he set sail with him for Achaia; and landing at Corinth, and paying

to that end, must be likewise ordained: and it is of all follies the most extravagant to suppose, that a thing will succeed by any other means than by those which are absolutely necessary to produce it.

* It is not necessary, says Mr. Paley, to admit as a miracle, what can be resolved into a *palse perception*: of this nature was the Demon of Socrates—and surely we may add, of Apollonius also.

† Herodotus says, that the story of Abaris, who was reported to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, carried on an arrow, merits no attention.

Iamblichus tells us that Apollo invested the Hyperborean Abaris with the power of flying through the air on a magical arrow, withersoever he pleased. Bayle laughs at the idea of Abaris making his entry into Athens riding on a broomstick.

his vows, which he always did about mid-day, to the Sun, he loosed sail in the evening, and made for Sicily and Italy. As the wind was fair and the sea calm, he arrived on the fifth day at Dicæarchia.* Here it was he met Demetrius the philosopher, who shewed, by living so near Rome, that he had more courage than the rest of his brethren. Apollonius, who know well he had kept out of the way of the tyrant, said to him in the way of jest, "I am glad to surprise you, Demetrius, in the midst of pleasures, in the most charming spot of Italy, (if it is not entitled to more praise) in the country† where Ulysses is said to have forgotten, in the company of Calypso,‡ the smoke of Ithaca and his family and household Gods." Whereupon Demetrius, embracing him, and first deprecating the omen, said, "What an injury will not philosophy receive, if a man like this should suffer?" "What danger," replies Apollonius, "is it to which you allude?" "None I am sure," returned Demetrius, "but what you are prepared for: for if I dont know you, I dont know myself. But let us not talk here, let us retire to a more private place; yet Damis is not to be excluded, whom, by Hercules, I look on as the Iolaus§ of your labours."

CHAP. XI.

AFTER saying this, he led them to a house which had formerly belonged to Cicero, not far from the town.

* The ancient name of Puteoli.

† The situation, and even the existence of Calypso's Island, is disputed by some writers. Philostratus places it somewhere on the Italian shore, probably in the Island Circæum, the supposed residence of Circe, now joined to the continent, and known by the name of *Monte Circello*.

‡ See *Odyssey*, b. v. for what is noticed in the text.

§ A son of Iphiclus, king of Thessaly, who assisted Hercules in conquering the hydra.

They sat down under a Platanus, on whose boughs some Cicadae,* invited by the season of the year, were singing. Demetrius looking on them, cried out, how happy and truly wise are ye, O Cicadae, who have been taught by the Muses a song which has never subjected you either to accusation or calumny. By them you are exempted from the feelings of hunger, and are given an habitation among those trees, beyond the reach of mortal envy, whereon you joyfully chant their happiness and your own. Apollonius, who well understood the tendency of what he said, pretended to find it destitute of that interest and concern, which he thought the exigency of the times required, and said, I see, Demetrius, you wished to sing the praises of the Cicadae; and as you had not courage to sing them in public, have retired to this place for the purpose, just as if a law had been passed, forbidding the singing of their praises. I spoke so, replied Demetrius, not merely to commend them, but to shew the liberty they have of singing as they please, whilst we have scarcely leave to mutter, and even find that our love of wisdom is to be imputed to us as a crime. Even the accusation which Anytus and Melitus laid against Socrates, charged him only “with corrupting the youth and introducing new Deities.” But the accusation against us is to the following effect, “Such a one acts wrong, so far as he cultivates justice and wisdom; and in proportion to the superior knowledge he has in divine and human affairs, in law in equity.”

* Cicadae—Insects found in various parts both of the new and old continent, where they subsist almost wholly on the leaves of trees, and other vegetable substances. The Athenians wore golden Cicadae in their hair, to denote their national antiquity, that, like these creatures, they were the first-born of the earth. Anacreon has an Ode addressed to the Cicadae, which, in Moore’s beautiful translation, begins thus:

“O thou, of all Creation blest,
“Sweet insect,” &c.

The more you excel us in wisdom, the more circumspectly has the accusation been laid against you. It is Domitian's wish to make you an accomplice in the crime for which Nerva and his associates are exiled. But for what crime, said Apollonius, have they been banished? For that which is considered, replied Demetrius, as one of the greatest crimes in the eyes of him who prosecutes. He says they are guilty of having aspired to the empire, and that you are the man who urged them to make the attempt, having, as I think, castrated a boy for the purpose. What, said Apollonius, could it be supposed that I should castrate a boy in order to have the empire possessed by an eunuch? It is not on that account, said Demetrius, we are assailed with calumnies, but they say you sacrificed a boy to learn the secrets of futurity, which are only to be known by the inspection of the entrails of such a victim. In the charges which are brought against you, some of them relate to your dress, others to your particular diet, and there are some of them which even proceed to your being worshipped by the people. This information I got from Telesinus, who is not only my friend, but yours. I should consider it a very fortunate circumstance, says Apollonius, were we now to meet Telesinus, as I suppose you mean the philosopher who was consul in the reign of Nero. The very same, returned Demetrius; but what is the chance we have of meeting him, seeing that tyranny is winged, whenever it is pleased, to attack those in power, who are known to hold communication with men who lie under the accusations you do? Telesinus, yielding to the decree which banished the philosophers from Rome, abandoned the city, thinking it better to go into exile as a philosopher, than to remain in the city as a consul. I would not, says Apollonius, wish him to run any risk on my account, seeing that he has encountered so much for the sake of philosophy.

CHAP. XII.

BUT I pray you tell me, said Apollonius, what it is you would advise me either to say or do, in order best to compose my fears? Do not jest with me, returned Demetrius, nor affect fears where you have none; for if you thought your present situation was attended with danger, you should even avoid speaking of it. And would you, said Apollonius, try to make your escape were you so circumstanced as I am? I would not, I swear it by Minerva, said Demetrius, if I had any hopes of getting a fair trial. But we have here neither law, nor justice, nor a judge to hear my defence; and who, were he even to hear it, will have me put to death, though I should be innocent. And I know you would be little inclined to give me any indulgence, were I to chuse a cold and ignoble death, instead of one becoming philosophy. Now the death which I conceive worthy of philosophy, is when a man dies in the act of giving liberty to his country, or in avenging his parents, his children, brothers, or relations, or his friends; in denceef of whom, according to the sentiments of the wise, a man will risk more than for relations, or even those whom love has procured and united to him. But to die out of vanity for a cause little approved of, and give the tyrant the slightest pretence to suppose he has acted right, would be a severer punishment, than the being whirled aloft on a wheel in the air, as it is said Ixion is. A chief part of your defence will rest on your appearance, which you suppose will be placed to the account of a good conscience, as it will not be imagined you would have undertaken such a journey, had you been conscious of having acted wrong. But remember Domitian will not thus reason, he will consider your confidence as arising from the secret power you possess in the magic art. It is not more than ten days since you were cited, and here are

you ready for trial before any day is appointed for hearing you; and what think you will be the consequence of this? Why, it will give weight to what is said of your having a fore-knowledge of the event, and will tend to confirm the story of the child. Beware of that coming to pass, which, it's said, you supported in Ionia concerning the Fates and necessity; and take care, lest fate is not preparing some misfortune which must of necessity fall on you, without you bearing in mind, that it is always the part of a wise man to be in a state of caution and vigilance. If you have not forgotten the days of Nero, you will call to remembrance my situation; and that I was not one who wanted courage to die. And yet they were days which admitted of some relaxation, some respite from cruelty; for if the harp of Nero shook off that decorum becoming the imperial character, it tended to mitigate its severity. Hence we had a truce with blood, a cessation from slaughter. Hence I was not put to death, though the sword was suspended over me, for these discourses we had held together in the bath. And why was I spared? it was because he had succeeded in a favourite song, which he thought he had sung to admiration. But to what lyre, or harmony of sweet sounds, shall we now sacrifice? for every place is become foreign to the Muses,* and full of discord and black bile: Domitian neither deriving comfort from himself, nor any other person. Hear what Pindar says in praise of the lyre, "It can appease the rage of Mars, and recal him from the field of battle."

* Suetonius says, Domitian, in the beginning of his reign, laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore at a vast expence the libraries which had been burnt down, by collecting copies from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy, or correct from the repository of books at that place. Yet he never applied himself to the reading of history or poetry, or to exercise his pen for his own improvement. He read nothing but the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar.

Though the Emperor has instituted musical concerts,* and rewards in public the victors with crowns, yet he has put to death some of the performers who lately disputed the prize in vocal and instrumental music. Besides, you should not forget the situation of those † men who are named your accomplices, for you will prove their ruin, either by shewing too much security, or by saying what you will not be able to make believed. Their safety and your own are both before you. You see many ships in harbour, of which some are bound for Libya, Egypt, and Phenicia, others for Cyprus and Sardinia, and some even to more distant lands. I should think it wise for you to go aboard one of them, and sail to whatever country you like. Tyranny is always more or less formidable to illustrious men, in proportion as the place of their retirement is more or less obscure.

CHAP. XIII.

DAMIS, being quite overcome with this discourse of Demetrius, said, I trust the friendly advice you give Apollonius may have its effect, and be useful to him. I own my influence with him avails but little, whenever I advise him not to run upon drawn swords, or expose himself to a tyranny the cruellest ever experienced. Without seeing you, I should not have known the object of his present journey. No one is more about him than I am, and yet, when asked where I am going, I appear but in a ridiculous point of view when not able to tell; for here am I traversing the Sicilian seas, and Tyrrhenean bays,

* He likewise instituted, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music, to be performed every five years, &c.

Suetonius.

† Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus.

and literally know not for what purpose. If I exposed myself to danger in a business of which I was informed, I should at least have the satisfaction of being able to answer all questions that were asked; for in that case I might say Apollonius loves death, that I am his rival, and that we sail together. But because I am ignorant of every thing, it is right in me only to speak of what I know, and that I will speak for the sake of the man. If I die, philosophy will not suffer much by it: inasmuch as I am but the attendant of a courageous philosopher, whose sole merit consists in following his master. But if they put Apollonius to death, (as it is ever the spirit of tyranny to exalt some, and pull down others) they will have, in my opinion, to boast of having raised a trophy for the destruction of philosophy in the person of him who of all men was the best able to support her. We have to contend with many Anytusses and Melitusses; and many are the accusations which are brought from all sides against the friends of Apollonius, such as "one man having smiled when he glanced at tyranny; another having justified what was said; one having given rise to the discourse, and another having departed pleased with what was said." As for my part, I think a man should lay down his life for philosophy, as he would for his altars, and his city, and his sepulchres; and many are the illustrious men who have died in defence of such things. But for the sake of destroying philosophy, I would neither wish to die myself, nor any one who loves her and Apollonius.

C H A P. XIV.

TO this Apollonius replied, we must pardon Damis's great precaution on the present emergency. He is an Assyrian, and borders on the Medes, where absolute power is reespected, and consequently it cannot be supposed

he can entertain very exalted ideas on the subject of civil liberty. But for you, Demetrius, I cannot see in what way you can justify yourself to philosophy; for instead of adding to Damis's fears, you should rather have tried to remove them, even supposing them founded; I think it would have been more becoming you, to have encouraged, as knowing him to be a timid man, who might have fears where none existed. The wise man will die for the objects you have mentioned; but he who is not, will do the same. The law says we must die for liberty, and nature that we must do the same for those connected to us by relationship, or friendship, or love. All men are subject to the laws of nature, and society: the one we obey with our consent, the other we must obey whether we consent or not. It is incumbent then on men to die for the causes I have mentioned; but it is much more incumbent on wise men to die for the studies to which they are addicted. For whatever is made the object of their choice, independent either of written law, or natural instinct, is made so under the inspiration of magnanimity and courage; and consequently any endeavour to destroy such an object would be vain; neither fire nor sword would terrify a wise man, or make him flinch, or have recourse to falsehood or equivocation to save his life; for what he knows, he will as religiously preserve, as if the hidden mysteries of Ceres were confided to him. My knowledge is greater than that of other men, because I know all things.* What I know, I know in part for the use of the wise and good, in part for myself and the Gods; but I know nothing for tyrants, let them use whatever threats and tortures they please. It is easy to see I am not come

* B. 3. c. 18. We know all things, says Iarchas, because we know ourselves. He had better said, we know nothing, for we know not ourselves.

here on a fool's errand. I am under no apprehensions on account of my own life, for the tyrant's power is unable to destroy me, even though I wished it myself. On the other hand, I find that I endanger the lives of those men, of whom the tyrant will make me either the head or the partisan; I will be whatever he will wish to make me. But were I to betray them through my own indolence, or a want of zeal in their favour, what opinion, I pray thee, would be formed of me by all good men? Who is there will not justly put me to death for having wantonly sported with the lives of those, to whom the Gods granted all I asked from them? I shall now endeavour to shew, that it was not possible otherwise to escape the imputation of treachery. The disposition of tyranny is two-fold; the one passes sentence without hearing, the other leaves the passing of it to the courts of law. Tyrants of the first class resemble wild beasts of the most active furious natures; tyrants of the second are like wild beasts of a more tame and indolent temper. Both species of tyranny are most offensive, as appears from the frantic power of Nero, who despised all forms of trial and justice, and from the gloomy and sluggish tyranny of Tiberius. The one put to death the unsuspecting, who had no apprehension of danger; the other the suspecting, who had long been a prey to their fears. Yet those tyrannies are in my opinion the very worst, which make use of the plea of justice and of a sentence pronounced according to law, regardless of any law whatever; for they pass sentences like tyrannies that observe no kind of trial, and use the name of law as a pretext, not only to gratify, but conceal their passions. For by the very circumstances of having the sentence of death passed under the sanction of law, the wretched sufferers are deprived of that general pity, which it is proper to bestow in the place of sepulchral garments on those who suffer unjustly. I perceive the usage of the present tyranny to be of a judicial kind, which gives the shadow of a trial,

and ends in a total neglect of it. For it passes sentence on those whom it previously condemns unheard, exactly as if no form of trial whatever was observed. Consequently he who suffers by the sentence of the judge, evidently suffers by that sentence alone, and as it were by his sole fault, who does not decide according to the laws. But he who has forfeited his recognisance, how is it possible he can avoid being condemned for it! If, now that the fortunes of so many men are put into my hands, I should decline my exertions both for them and myself, to what land, I beseech you, could I fly, where I should be not tainted with guilt? Suppose I took your advice, and followed it as being the best, and that in consequence of it, these men were put to death; what prayers, I ask you, could I offer up for a successful voyage? On what coast could I land, or to what people fly? I must exile myself from the whole Roman Empire, and go in quest of friends to the unknown parts of the earth? On whose friendship could I rely? Is it on that of Phraotes, or the King of Babylon,* or the divine Iarchas, or the generous Thespesion? Were I to go to the Ethiopians, what, my friend, could I say to Thespesion? For if I concealed such conduct, I should appear not only a lover of lies, but a servant of the same; and if I was to give any account of my conduct, I must speak of it in the following manner: O Thespesion, Euphrates has accused me to you of crimes of which I am not conscious; he has told you I was a boaster, a man fond of the marvellous, and who despised the knowledge of the Ethiopians. I am not this, but I am the betrayer and the executioner of my friends, and one in whom no one places confidence, &c. If a crown of virtue is to be given for such qualities, I am come to carry it away: I am come to receive a crown for having so effectually destroyed some of the first houses in Rome

* Bardanes.

as to be no longer habitable. I see, Demetrius, you blush at hearing this. But what would you do, were you to represent to yourself Phraotes and me flying to such a man for his protection! With what face could I look on him? or what reason assign for my flight? Should I say, when I paid my first visit, that I was virtuous and innocent, and not indisposed to die for my friends; but that after conversing with him, I at your suggestion cast away all these most excellent dispositions as things of no value. Would Iarchas, were I to make him such a confession, condescend so much as to ask me one question: would he not drive me from his sacred hill, as Eolus* did Ulysses from his island, for having abused the gifts which he gave him to secure a successful voyage? and would he not tell me I had violated the sacred privilege of the cup of Tantalus, which required from all who drank of it, a participation of the dangers of their friends. I know, Demetrius, how able you are to abridge and appreciate all dissertations, and that you would thus naturally address me, "go not to the dwellers on the sacred hill, but go to men with whom no intercourse of friendship has subsisted; if you do this, your flight will turn out successful, and you will lie concealed amongst a people who know you not." Let us now consider the weight of this suggestion, and see how it is founded. My opinion of it is this. I conceive a wise man does nothing in private, or alone, or even conceals any thing in his mind, so remote from all witnesses, as not to have himself a witness of what he does. And whether the Pythian inscription be Apollo's, or that of some mortal, who knew himself, and uttered it as a sentence to be observed by all men, matters not; I am of

* Hence—be gone—

Thou worst of men! I may not entertain

Or give safe conduct homeward to a wretch

Abhorr'd by all in heaven.—

HOMER, *Odyssey*, b. 10.

opinion, a wise man who knows himself and examines his own mind, does none of those things in private or in retirement, which vulgar minds think themselves allowed to do; nor dares commit in public, and without shame, what others do in sight of all without any shame whatever. For they who are the slaves of despotic power, have pleasure in delivering up to it their dearest friends, merely because they fear what is not to be feared, and reverence nothing that ought to be respected. But wisdom makes no allowance for such conduct, which, as well as the Pythian inscription, sanctions the sentiment of Euripides, that it is "Conscience which torments poor mortals whenever they call to mind their evil doings." Conscience that represented to the mind of Orestes* the images of the Furies, when he run mad and attacked his mother. The mind is free and capable of judging what is to be done; conscience is not, it judges only from the images which the mind presents to it. If the mind makes virtue the object of its choice, conscience accompanies with pleasure the possessor into the temples, and streets, and sacred groves, and busy haunts of men. She forsakes him not in his sleep, but orders a chorus of dreams to join in sweetest harmony of song around him. If the state of the mind inclines to do wrong, conscience suffers not the culprit to look on men with a fixed countenance, or to address them with an unfaltering tongue. She will not let him approach the temples, nor suffer him to offer up his prayers in them. She withholds him from raising up his hands to the images of the Gods, and laughs at him if he does, as she does at those who come to deprecate a merited punishment. Conscience drives him out of company, and frightens him when asleep. Whatever persons of this description see during the day, whatever

* Orestes of Euripides.

they fancy they either hear or say, all is represented by conscience as ideal and visionary ; and on the other hand, the idle and fantastic terrors of their own brains are shewn as real and dreadful. From what I have said, I think I have made it very clear, under the guidance of truth itself, how much my conscience would condemn me both among known and unknown nations, if I should betray those men. But I never will be false to myself, and I will combat against the tyrant, singing in the language of Homer,

“ Mars is our common Lord, alike to all,
 “ And oft the victor triumphs but to fall.” **POPE.**

CHAP. XV.

DAMIS writes that he himself was so affected with this discourse, that he quite derived new life from it, and adds, that Demetrius persisted no longer in holding different sentiments from Apollonius, but was loud in his praises, saying, he spoke with a divine instinct, and that he was entitled to high commendation for the dangers to which he exposed himself, as was also his philosophy for the sake of which he did it. He then offered to take him and his companions to his lodgings, which Apollonius begged leave to decline, from the consideration of its growing late, and of his sailing in the night, the time appointed for the weighing anchor of such vessels as were in harbour. However, when times will mend, we shall sup together ; at present, occasion might be taken of charging you with high treason, should it be known that you had eaten with the Emperor's enemy. I do not wish you even to accompany me to the port, lest the very circumstance of your holding discourse with me, might involve you in the suspicion of criminal designs against the government. To this reasoning Demetrius assented, and after embracing Apollonius, took his leave, every now and then turning

away his face to wipe off the tears that were falling from it. Apollonius then looking on Damis, says, if you are possessed of as much courage as I am, let us embark together; if you are not, it is time you should think of remaining where you are; you can stay with Demetrius, who is our common friend. To which Damis answered, And what opinion would the world entertain of me, if after what I have heard this day on the subject of friends, and their mutual attachment to each other in the times of danger, I should decline sharing in yours, and should abandon you now in the hour of greatest need? for as yet I have not appeared backward in any thing wherein your interest was concerned. Your words are good, said Apollonius, let us therefore set out, I will appear in the habit I do at present, but for you, I should recommend an ordinary habit instead of what you wear; that you should cut your hair, and put on a linen habit, and go without shoes. But why I say this, I will now explain. I know we must suffer much for the particular course of life we have adopted, but I am decidedly against your sharing in all its dangers, and being cast into prison, which must be the consequence if you are betrayed by your habit. I wish you to follow me, and to be present at all that passes, as one who in other respects loves me, without being sworn to my philosophy. This was the reason why Damis laid aside his Pythagorean garb, which he assures us was done, not from any fears or sorrow for having worn it, but from the approbation which he gave to the idea of Apollonius, to which he wished to conform, by reason of the necessity of the times.

CHAP. XVI.

LEAVING Dicæarchia,* on the third day they cast anchor in the mouth of the Tiber, from whence to Rome

* Puteoli.

the passage is neither long nor tedious. The imperial sword was then in the hands of Ælian the Pretorian prefect. This man formerly loved Apollonius, and used to talk to him when in Egypt. Of this, Ælian had taken no notice to Domitian by way of defending Apollonius, for the nature of his office did not admit his saying any thing which might be disagreeable to him. For how could he praise to him a man who passed for his enemy? or intercede for him as a friend? However, in private he used every means he thought might serve him, without seeming at all interested in the matter. When Ælian found that Apollonius, before his arrival, lay under grievous accusations, he thus addressed the Emperor, and said, sophists are nothing but prattle and flippancy, the art they profess is all for shew, and whenever they are unable to derive a maintenance from it, they wish to die. Sophists of this description do not wait the voluntary approach of death, but anticipate it by provoking those in power to inflict it. It was under this consideration, I think, Nero declined putting him to death, he knew he wished to die, and therefore, as it were, obliged him to live, not as granting him a favour by so doing, but because he thought that by putting him to death, he would give him too much celebrity. This same prince kept Musonius the Tyrrhenian, who opposed his authority in many instances, shut up in the little island of Gyara.* The Greeks took great delight in sophists of this kind, and used to sail to the island for the sake of talking to him, but now they visit it for its fountain. For, in this island, formerly destitute of water, Musonius discovered a fountain, which is now no less praised by the Greeks in their songs, than Caballinus† on mount Helicon.

* Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis. JUVENAL.

† A clear fountain on mount Helicon, sacred to the Muses, and called also Hippocrene, as raised from the ground by the foot of Pegasus. Caballus, a horse derived from the Greek καβαλλης.

CHAP. XVII.

IT was in this manner Ælian tried to soothe the Emperor before Apollonius arrived; but when he did, he used more address to the same purpose. He ordered him immediately to be apprehended and brought before him; Apollonius appeared; his accuser attacked him with great violence, charging him with being an enchanter, and excelling in that art. When Ælian heard this, he said to the accuser, I request you may reserve yourself and charges for the Emperor's tribunal. All Apollonius said, was, If I am an enchanter, how can I be brought to trial? and if I am brought to trial, how can I be considered as an enchanter? This cannot be, without calumny, as it is said, has acquired a power superior to magicians themselves. When Ælian found that the accuser was going to bring forward some more absurd charge, he stopped him, saying, Give me the time which precedes the trial, as in it I intend to prove the sophist apart, and not in open court. Because, if he confesses the crime, the pleadings will be greatly abridged in the case; but if he does not, the Emperor must decide. Ælian then retiring into the most private part of the court, where causes only of the greatest moment are tried *sub silentio*, he said, withdraw all, and let no one stay to listen, for such is the Emperor's pleasure.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN they were alone, Ælian said to Apollonius, I was but very young at the time the Emperor's father went into Egypt to sacrifice to the Gods, and advise with you on the state of his affairs. I accompanied him as military tribune, in consequence of the knowledge I pos-

essed in the art of war. I remember you received me with so much kindness, that, when the Emperor was administering justice to the several cities, you took me aside, told me who I was, what was my name, and who was my father. You even then told me I should be possessed of my present situation, which the majority of people hold to be superior to every other human dignity. But, for my part, I think it an employment attended with great trouble, and a condition of life most wretched. By it, I am the guardian of a cruel tyranny, and dread the punishment of heaven if I fail in the discharge of any part of my duty. I have already given you a proof of my friendship, and what I told you from the beginning, of my unceasing regard for you, may, I think, be sufficient to call to your remembrance my character. My wishing to speak to you alone on the charges of your accuser, is a mere pretence and contrivance of mine to shew you the confidence that is to be placed in me, and what you have to expect from the Emperor. I know not what sentence he will pass on your case, but I know he is very much in the temper of those judges who wish to condemn, and yet are ashamed to do so without some solid grounds: besides, he is anxious to make use of you as a plea to destroy some men of consular authority. The fact is, he desires to do what ought not to be done, and to do it under the cloak of justice. This the reason why it is necessary for me to dissemble, and to seem to act with a degree of zeal in the business; for if the Emperor once suspected me of proceeding with indifference in the cause, I know not which of us would be the first to perish.

CHAP. XIX.

WHEN Apollonius heard this, he said, As we can now speak together without restraint, and as you have opened

your mind to me, I think it but fair for me to open mine to you. You speak of my affairs like a philosopher, like one of my old disciples, and as you seem from affection disposed to share in my dangers, I will tell you my whole heart. I had it in my power to escape by flight, (for still there are many parts of the earth not yet subject to your power, to which I might have retired). I could have found an asylum with wise men, men much wiser than myself, who worship the Gods according to right reason; in a country inhabited by a people much more pious than the people of Rome, with whom exists neither information nor accusation, the reason of which is, that they neither commit injury themselves, nor suffer it to be committed by others, and of course have no need of courts of justice. But fearing to incur the character of traitor, should I decline a defence, and that they who are in danger on my account, should suffer in consequence, I am come to plead my own cause. I request you may furnish me with the articles of my accusation, on which it will be necessary for me to make my defence.

CHAP. XX.

THE articles with which you are charged, said Ælian, are of different kinds, and not few in number. Among them are noticed your dress, your manner of living, and the adoration that is paid you—to which is added, the answer you gave the Ephesians relative to the plague. You are charged besides with many things said against the Emperor, of which, some were spoken in private, others in public; and all are affirmed to have been uttered under the immediate direction of the Gods. But the charge, which of all others is the least credible, and which I know to be so, from your known aversion to the shedding of blood, is one that appears to the Emperor the most likely to be

true; the charge is, that you met Nerva in a field, where you sacrificed an Arcadian boy for him; that you did it to procure for him the death of the reigning Emperor, and that by this sacrifice you have given Nerva hopes of one day obtaining the empire. The above is all said to have taken place by night, during the waning of the moon. This last charge, by reason of being more serious than the rest, is considered as the chief, and only one deserving of attention; for as to what respects your dress, your manner of living, and knowledge of futurity, all that only tends to make the last more probable, and each separately taken tends as a collateral circumstance to strengthen your power of offending, and your courage to make such a sacrifice. This is the accusation, to answer which you must be prepared, and in the apology you make, I advise you so to speak as not to offend the Emperor. As a proof that it is not my wish to shew the least disrespect to the Emperor, I am come here, said Apollonius, to make my defence. And had I the hardyhood to treat with disrespect his power, I should submit my conduct to your judgment, first, on account of your own worth, and next, the regard you have ever shewn for me. To pass for worthless in the eyes of an enemy, is not a matter of heavy affliction, because it is probable he hates us, not so much for what has brought down on us public disgrace, as for what shocks him as an individual. But to be esteemed worthless in the opinion of a friend, is a much more serious consideration than all that can happen from an enemy, because it is probable that the dislike of a friend arises only from what gives the decided character of being wicked.

CHAP. XXI.

ÆLIAN liked what he said, and encouraged him not to despair, as the opinion he formed of him was such, that

they could not terrify him, even if they held up the Gorgon's* head before him. He then called the keepers of the prison, and ordered them to take Apollonius into custody, and there detain him till the Emperor's pleasure was known, who might now learn from his own mouth what he had said: whilst giving these orders, he put on the air and look of a man in great wrath. After this, he went to the palace to discharge the duties of his office. Here Damis relates a circumstance which was somewhat like what happened to Aristrides, who, when banished by Ostracism from Athens, on account of his virtue, had no sooner got out of the city than he was met by a countryman, who asked him to write the name of Aristides on his shell—he confessed he did not know the man, nor even how to read or write, and all he knew was, that it grieved him to hear every one call him *just*. A tribune happening to know Apollonius, asked him in jest the cause of his present trouble, to whom he said he did not know. Well, returned the tribune, I do, and it is the worship paid you by some men, which has given rise to the suspicion of your wishing to pass for a God. And pray who, replied Apollonius, has worshipped me? I myself, said the tribune, when a boy, at Ephesus, at the time you delivered us from the plague. You did well, answered Apollonius, as did the city of Ephesus when delivered from such a calamity. With this consideration, continued the tribune, I have found out the means of saving you, and drawing you out of the above difficulty. Let us go outside the city, and if I cut off your head with a sword, the accusation against you will fall to the ground, and you will stand acquitted. But if you terrify me so as to make the sword drop out of my hand, then you will be esteemed a God, and acknowledg-

* Rigidâ cum Gorgone Perseus.

CLAUDIAN.

ed as such by a public decree.* Here was a tribune who far surpassed in barbarity, him who wished to banish Aristides, inasmuch as all he said was done in way of jest and mockery. But Apollonius never once affected to hear him, for he was talking all the time to Damis on the nature of the Delta, around which, it is said, the Nile divides into two branches.

CHAP. XXII.

AFTER this, Ælian sending for Apollonius, ordered him into the prison where the captives were not bound, and there to remain till the Emperor had leisure to speak to him, as he wished, in private. When dismissed from the tribunal and led back to prison, he said to Damis, Let us have some conversation with the people here, for what else can we do till the Emperor thinks fit to give us an audience. I fear, replied Damis, that the prisoners will think us rather officious, and will not be much obliged to us if we keep them from thinking of their defence; and besides, I think it will appear rather absurd in us to talk to people in grief, and who must have very little inclination to hear us. On the contrary, said Apollonius, I think people in their situation stand more in need of assistance and comfort than others. For were I to call to mind what Homer says of Helen's† mixing certain Egyptian

* On ne comprend pas bien (says Du Pin) le dessein de cet homme, ou plutot de Philostrate dans cette histoire; mais quel qu'il puisse être, on ne croira jamais, que cela ait pû être dit serieusement, et on ne peut excuser Apollone de l'approbation qu' il donne à ceux qui lui avoient rendu des honneurs divins à Ephese.

† Meantime, with genial joy to warm the soul,
Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl,
Temper'd with drugs of sov'reign use, t'assuage
The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;
To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,
And dry the tearful sluices of despair. HOMER, Od. b. iv.

drugs in a bowl, for curing the diseases of the mind, I might suppose Helen, who was instructed in the learning of Egypt, assuaged sorrow by the enchantments of her cup, and applied both the powers of eloquence and wine to the comfort of the afflicted. What you say, said Damis, is likely enough, especially if it is certain that Helen came into Egypt, and conversed with Proteus; or if, as Homer says, she was acquainted with Polydamna the wife of Thone.* However, for the present let us change the conversation, as I wish to propose some questions myself. I know them already, said Apollonius, you wish to know all that passed between Ælian and me, and whether his manner of receiving me was kind, or not; and then he proceeded to give him a particular account of their interview, which, when he had finished, Damis adored him, and said, that he now entertained no doubt of Leucothea having formerly given Ulysses a scarf,† by means of which he passed the sea, after the loss of a ship, by only the steerage of his arms. For to us who have fallen into difficulties great and perilous, I think, says he, some God has stretched out a hand to save us from perishing. Here Apollonius, not exactly approving of what Damis said, replied, how long will you continue to entertain such fears, and know not that wisdom deeply affects all who are but sensible of its influence, and is itself affected by no one. But, returned Damis, we have now to deal with a man who is destitute of wisdom, who cannot be affected by us, and who does not suffer himself to be affected by

* These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life
Bright Helen learn'd from *Thone's* imperial wife.

HOMER, Od. b. iv.

Thon, or *Thonis*, was King of Egypt.

† This heav'nly scarf beneath thy bosom bind,
And live; give all thy terrors to the wind.

HOMER, Od. b. iv.

any person. Seest thou not, said Apollonius, that Domitian is inflated with pride, and labours under evident insanity. I do, replied Damis, it is impossible not to see it. Well then, added Apollonius, the more you are acquainted with the tyrant, the more you ought to despise him and all he can do.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHILST they were talking in this manner, a man from Cilicia, I believe, approached, and said to them, all my danger, Sirs, arises from my riches. That's not improbable, answered Apollonius, if you have acquired them by means not justifiable ; for instance, by robbery, or by the vending of poisonous drugs, or by ransacking* the tombs of ancient kings, stored with gold and precious treasure ; if, I say, you have been guilty of such dark transactions, you ought not only to be called to account for the same, but capitally punished. I know that wealth is sometimes procured by ways such as these, but then it is always accounted infamous and accursed. But if what you possess has been acquired by inheritance, or by fair, and not usurious dealings, what man has the effrontery to dare to deprive you of that under the colour of law, which has been made under its venerable sanction. My property, returned the Cilician, has arisen from numerous relations, all which has at last centered in myself ; I use it not as if it belonged to other people, but I use it as my own sole right ; and yet not absolutely as my own, because I share it in common with all good men. How-

* Humana effodiens ossa, thesaurum canis
Invenit : et violavit quia manes Deos,
Injecta est illi divitiarum cupiditos
Pœnas ut sanctæ religioni penderet.

ever informers abuse me, and pretend to say that the possession of such a property cannot be to the interest of the prince; because, if I attempted any innovation, it might be injurious to him; and in case I joined the disaffected party, it might be of the most serious consequence. Then allegations are produced like so many oracles against me, as, that riches when they exceed mediocrity, generate pride; that when they pass the common measure of great fortune, they raise the head of the possessor above other men, elate the heart, inspire a contempt of the laws, and smite, as it were, the very face of the magistrates sent out to rule the provinces, and who are themselves the slaves of riches, or who overlook the crimes of their possessors, merely because they are rich. As to myself, when I was young, and not master of one hundred talents, I laughed at every thing, and had but few fears then on account of fortune. And yet when, by the death of an uncle, I became in one day possessed of five hundred talents, what a change was made in my way of thinking! exactly the same as is made in horses by the skill of intelligent grooms, who break and cure them of all their bad habits. But after Plutus made such an accession to my property, both by sea and land, I became such a slave to fear, that part of it I gave to sycophants to stop their mouths, part to magistrates to defend me against cheats and impostors, part to relations to prevent envyings and jealousies, and part to my slaves to keep them from growing worse under pretence of being neglected by me. To this may be added, that I supported a numerous retinue of friends, of whom, some were to superintend my affairs, and others to give advice. And notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to secure my riches, and to fence them round, as it were, by a wall, I am in perils on their account, and know not whether I shall come out safe or not. When he had done speaking, Apollonius said, take courage, Plutus is responsible for your person, for it is

on his account you are in prison; he will deliver you from it, and the necessity you are under of complying with the wishes of slaves and informers, to whom you have been exposed hitherto for his sake.

CHAP. XXIV.

TO the chief magistrate of Tarentum, who was to vindicate himself from the charge of having omitted to say that Domitian was the son of Pallas,* in a sacrifice he made, Apollonius thus replied: You, forsooth, believed that Pallas never brought forth by reason of her perpetual virginity, and yet were ignorant, I suppose, that the Goddess was accessory in giving the Athenians a serpent.†

CHAP. XXV.

THE case of one of their fellow prisoners was as follows. He possessed a piece of ground in Acarnania, near the mouths of the Achilous, from whence he used to visit the Echinades‡ in a little boat. Observing that one of these islands was joined to the main land, he planted it with goodly trees and sweet-bearing vines; and made it

* Minerva, whom he worshipped even to superstition.

SUETONIUS.

† Ericthonius, a deformed monster, with the tails of serpents instead of legs, said to be the offspring of Minerva by Vulcan, though properly only of Vulcan himself.

Addison calls her, "The childless Goddess."

‡ Five small islands near Acarnania, at the mouth of the river Achilous. They have been formed by the inundations of that river, and by the sand and mud which its waters carry down, and now bear the name of Curzolari.

so convenient for living in, that he introduced whatever water was necessary for its use from the continent. Hence a suspicion arose, that the Acarnanian was guilty of great crimes: his accusers added, he had left the continent because it was polluted by him. As Alcmeon, the son of Amphiaurus, after being delivered from the furies who persecuted him on the death of his mother, had retired to the mouths of the Achilous, so it was concluded this Acarnanian had taken the same resolution from a consciousness of a similar offence, or one not very different. On the part of the Acarnanian, it was said, he did not go there for any such cause, but only to enjoy the quiet and peace which the place afforded; let it be what it may, it was made an occasion for instituting a suit against him, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison.

CHAP. XXVI.

IT was said there were above fifty persons confined in prison, of whom, some laboured under sickness, others under dejection of spirits, and some under the expectation of death, whilst others bewailed and called on their children, parents, and wives. Of these wretched sufferers, many flocked about Apollonius, making bitter complaints of their hard situation, to whom he said, turning to Damis, these men seem to require that medicine* to which I have before alluded. For whether it be the growth of Egypt, or the production of every soil, which has wisdom enough to gather it, I know not; but let us give plenty of it to these miserable men, lest the present state of their sufferings may not take them out of the world before the

* Helen's Egyptian Drug, mentioned in c. 22.

sentence of Domitian. I agree with you, replied Damis, in thinking they should get plenty of it, for greatly do they seem to require it. Whereupon Apollonius, calling them together, thus addressed them. O you, who are my fellow companions in this dreary abode, I am sorry to see you putting yourselves to death before it is known whether the information against you will destroy you. I think you are killing yourselves before the judge pronounces sentence, and are bold in what you ought to have fears, and have fears in what you ought to be bold. You should not so conduct yourselves, but should remember the words of Archilochus the Parian, who said, that patience under adversity, which he called endurance, was an invention of the Gods to enable men to bear the evils of life, after the manner of those, who by superior skill and judgment, are able to get the better of the waves at the time they are rising above the sides of the vessel. Account not then those things so hard, which you endure and cannot help, and to which I have exposed myself of my own free will and consent. For if you are conscious of guilt, you should lament the day in which your hearts deceived you, and made you commit actions at once unjust and cruel. But if you, Sir, say that you did not inhabit an isle near the Achilous, for the reasons assigned by your accuser; nor that you, Sir, disposed of your wealth in a way to hurt your prince, nor that it was your intention, Sir, to strip him of his title of being called the son of Minerva; if, I say, you are able to prove, that all the reasons held out for your being here, are unfounded, why all these whinings and lamentations for nothing? Believe me, your courage should rise in proportion to the sorrow you feel for them most nearly connected with you. These are the trials of patience. Perhaps you think it a hard thing to be detained here, and to live in a prison? Or think perhaps that this is only the beginning of sorrow? Or else suppose it punishment sufficient,

though you may not suffer more? But for me, who am acquainted with the nature of man, I will give you some instruction which is not inferior to the prescriptions by physicians, particularly as what I give procures strength and releases from death. Whilst we live, we are all men in prison. Our soul, attached to this mortal body, suffers much, and is subject to all the vicissitudes of mortality. The men who first built houses, never supposed they were inclosing themselves in a second prison. For undoubtedly they who inhabit the strongest fortified palaces, are to be considered in closer custody than they whom they put in chains. When I turn my eyes to cities and fortifications, I find them only to be common prisons. So that in truth, merchants and orators, frequenters of the public shews, and the managers of the same, are all only so many prisoners. The Scythians* who live in waines, are as much in prison as we are: they are shut in by the Ister, the Thermodon, and Tanais rivers, which can only be passed when congealed with ice. They spread awnings over the waines in which they travel, by means of which they are inclosed in small dwellings. And if it is not to be considered as too puerile an observation, I should say that the ocean incloses the earth as it were with a chain. Draw near, ye poets, (for it is your deeds I am going to relate) and sing to these poor afflicted prisoners, how that Saturn of old was bound by the artful contrivance of Jupiter; and Mars the belligerent was confined by Vulcan in heaven, and by the Aloidæ in earth.† Think

* Called from so living, Hamaxobii.

† Othus and Ephialtus sons of Aloeus the giant.

The mighty Mars in mortal fetters bound,
And lodg'd in brazen dungeons under ground,
Full thirteen moons imprison'd roar'd in vain,
Othus and Ephialtes held the chain: &c.

HOMER, POPE, b. 5.

of all this, and of the number of wise and powerful men whom the tyranny of the people, or of the prince, has thrown into prison, and never let it be said that we are not equal to them in bearing like calamities. What Apollonius said, had such an effect on the prisoners, that some of them took food, whilst others wiped away their tears, and entertained hopes that no harm could befall them as long as Apollonius was with them.

CHAP. XXVII.

NEXT day, whilst Apollonius was haranguing in the same strain, a person entered the prison, who was sent by Domitian to take note of our philosopher. He had a melancholy air, and was, as he said himself, in imminent danger. He had great volubility of speech, and talked much after the manner of those pleaders who have had the drawing up of eight or ten malicious informations. Apollonius seeing at once the snare that was laid for him, said nothing which could serve his purpose. He talked of rivers, and mountains, and wild beasts, and trees : all this, whilst it amused the other prisoners, profited nothing the informer. He tried, however, to induce Apollonius to say something to the disadvantage of the tyrant ; but he was on his guard, and said, you may say any thing you please, my friend, for I will not turn informer : as to myself, I will tell the Emperor in person whatever I think reprehensible in his conduct.

CHAP. XXVIII.

OTHER circumstances fell out in the prison, of which some were designedly and insidiously contrived, others the effects of mere chance ; all were however of no great

moment, and deserved little attention. Damis speaks of them, in order not to be charged with any omission. Such as merit attention, I shall notice. On the evening of the fifth day of his confinement a stranger came into the prison, who used the Greek tongue, and asked where the Tyanean was. As soon as he was shewn him, he took him aside from the other prisoners, and said, the Emperor will speak to you to-morrow; and this information he seemed to have received from Ælian. This is a secret I understand, said Apollonius, for it is what Ælian alone could know. The messenger proceeded, orders are given to the keeper of the prison to supply you with what you want. That is doing what is right, said Apollonius, but my manner of living is the same here as it is in every place else. I talk on common occurrences as usual, and I want nothing. But, returned the messenger, would not you wish for the advice of a friend, O Apollonius, just to say how you should address the Emperor. I should, indeed, said Apollonius, provided he were not one who would advise me to flatter him. But suppose, replied the messenger, he was to advise you not to treat him with disrespect, nor speak to him with any kind of insolence? I thank you for the advice, said Apollonius, it is good, and what I am determined to follow. To give this advice, answered the messenger, was the cause of my coming here, and I am rejoiced you are resolved to keep your temper, and act in obedience to it. I thought it right to prepare you to support, as you ought, the voice and terrible * countenance of the Emperor; for the former is harsh and dissonant, even when he wishes to speak gently

* Pliny, in his panegyric, says, he was *visu terribilis*. Tacitus says he had *sævus vultus*. Murphy has thus translated the whole passage, "With that fiery visage, of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale, languid countenance of the unhappy victims who shuddered at his frown."

to you, and the latter is furnished with a pair of eye-brows which hang heavy over his eyes, and with cheeks so bloated with bile as to distinguish him from all other men. But let not these things, O Tyanean, intimidate you, for they are natural and unavoidable defects. When Ulysses, replied Apollonius, entered the cave of Polyphemus, he neither knew his gigantic stature, nor the kind of food he used, nor his thundering voice; he did not lose his presence of mind, and though at first he entertained some fears, he soon recovered his accustomed courage; and acting like a man of spirit, he left the cave in perfect safety. For my part I shall be satisfied if I can escape myself, together with my companions, for whose sakes I am in my present perilous situation. All that passed in conversation with the messenger he repeated to Damis, and then went to sleep.

CHAP. XXIX.

ABOUT break of day a notary belonging to the Emperor's tribunal arrived, with orders for Apollonius to attend the palace at noon, not, said he, for the pleading your cause, but that the Emperor may see what you are, and may speak to you face to face. But why, replied Apollonius, do you speak to me on that subject? What, said the notary, are not you Apollonius? Yes, I am the Tyanean. And to whom then, returned the notary, should I deliver my orders, if not to you? To those officers, replied Apollonius, whose business it is to conduct me to the palace, for you know I must come out of prison. I have given proper orders for that purpose to the guards, said the notary, and I will take care to be punctual as to time. My duty is to give you this information in consequence of the orders which were give to me late the evening before, and saying this, he departed.

CHAP. XXX.

WHILST Apollonius was in bed, he said to Damis, I have need of sleep, I have passed a sleepless night in calling to mind all Phraotes said to me. I think, said Damis, you had done better, had you remained awake, and prepared for the announced interview, as being a matter of some moment. And how can I, replied Apollonius, prepare for what I am as yet ignorant of? And is it your intention, said Damis, to argue a cause, in which your life is concerned, without any preparation? It is, replied Apollonius, for as my way of life has been hitherto without preparation, it shall remain so to the end of it. But I shall now tell you all that occurred to me of what Phraotes said, as bearing on my present situation. In the taming of lions Phraotes ordered no severity to be used, from an idea that such treatment would not be forgotten; nor on the other hand did he recommend too much gentleness, lest it might tend to make them unmanageable; but both methods properly blended, he thought best adapted to render them more tame and manageable. This advice of Phraotes was not given for the purpose of taming lions, for we were not then reasoning on the best mode of managing wild beasts, but on that of putting a bridle into the mouths of tyrants, which he hoped whoever would apply, would do it in a way not to exceed the bounds of moderation. A lesson of this kind, says Damis, is well suited to the nature of tyrants. In Æsop there is a fable of a lion who lay stretched out in his den, not sick, but only pretending to be so, for the purpose of seizing on every animal who came to visit him. But Æsop adds, there was a fox, who, in considering the case of this lion, observed, I do not find that any one remains with him, nor

the footsteps of any who return from him.* And yet, said Apollonius, I should have thought more of the fox's † wisdom, had he entered the cave without suffering himself to be taken; and on his return, had been able to shew his own footsteps. After saying this, he had some sleep, light and of short continuance.

CHAP. XXXI.

AS soon as it was day, Apollonius paid his adorations to the rising Sun, as well as he could in a prison, and talked to all who came to him on whatever subjects they liked themselves. About mid-day an officer arrived, ordering his attendance at the palace, who said he came to have him in readiness before he was called. As soon as Apollonius heard this, he said, "Let us go," and forthwith set out with some eagerness. He was guarded by four men who attended him, but who kept at a greater distance from him than was their custom when guarding a common prisoner. Damis followed him, but followed him with great fear and pensiveness. All eyes were turned upon him; his singular dress attracted their attention, and the admiration which his whole appearance excited, bordered on something divine. The dangers he encountered for the sake of Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus, conciliated the affection of all, even of his enemies. Whilst he stood at the palace gates, he particularly noticed the attentions and the compliments which were mutually given and received

* ————— Quia me vestigia terrent

Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

HORACE.

† The fox, I think, shewed himself wiser than Apollonius, in not going to the den at all.

by different classes of people, together with the noise and hurry attending such as were passing and repassing; after considering it all, he said, this scene reminds me of a bath, for they who are without, are trying to get in, and they who are within, are trying to get out; the former are like those who have not bathed, and the latter those who have. This idea I wish to have appropriated solely to Apollonius, and not ascribed to any other person: it is so peculiarly his property, that he has used it in one of his letters. Observing in the crowd a man worn out with years, canvassing for the government of a province, and on that account paying the most servile court to the Emperor, he says, O Damis, Sophocles himself would be unable to persuade this man to fly a wild and furious master. Whom, replied Damis, we have of our own accord chosen, Apollonius, and for that now stand before these doors. I believe, Damis, said Apollonius, you imagine *Æacus* to be the keeper of these gates, as he is said to be of those of Hell, for you appear to me like a dead man. Not quite a dead man, returned Damis, but one about to die shortly. So, Damis, said Apollonius, you still seem rather averse to death, notwithstanding your long attachment to me, who have been a philosopher from my youth. I thought you prepared for death, and instructed, as well as myself, in all the necessary means of defence. And as courage is necessary for great warriors, together with a knowledge of tactics sufficient to instruct them in the best mode of attack, in the same manner should philosophers consider the time most fitting them to die, at which they should leave the world with the greatest deliberation, and not after the manner of men taken by surprise and unprepared. I have proved in a set apology in your presence, and often and fully to yourself, that my mind is always on reflection prepared for death whenever any person is pleased to inflict it, and that in a way most becoming a philosopher. But of this subject enough.

CHAP. XXXII.

AS soon as the Emperor was at leisure and free from business, Apollonius was introduced into the palace by the officers in waiting, who took care not to let Damis follow him. The Emperor having on his head a garland of green boughs, had stopt in the hall of Adonis. This hall was embellished with shells of flowers, like as are carried about by the Assyrians in their sacred festivals;* and these shells were so arranged as to be under the protection of the same roof with the hall itself. The Emperor, who was still intent on the sacrifice in which he had been engaged, turning about, and being struck with the extraordinary appearance of the man, cried out, O Ælian, you have brought me a Demon. At this, Apollonius, without being in the least intimidated, taking occasion from what he heard, said, O Emperor, I was considering you like Diomed at Troy under the protection of Pallas,† who purged his eyes of that mist which dims the sight of mor-

* The *Adonia*, or feasts of Adonis, were celebrated in most of the cities of Greece in honour of Venus, and in memory of her beloved Adonis. Images or pictures of Adonis and Venus were brought forth with all the pomp and ceremonies used at funerals—the women tore their hair, beat their breasts, &c. They also carried with them shells filled with earth, in which grew several sorts of flowers and herbs, particularly lettuces; in memory that Adonis was laid out by Venus on a bed of lettuces. These were called *κηποι*, gardens, and hence *Αδωνιδος κηποι* were proverbially applied to things unfruitful and fading, because these herbs were sown only a short time before the festival after which they were cast out into the water. It is manifestly in this sense that Plato, Plutarch, and the Emperor Julian, employed this proverb, the hint of which was borrowed from the pots and baskets of flowers which were carried in the above procession.

† I also purge thy sight; the mist, that once

Obscur'd it, fled, thou shalt distinguish Gods

From mortals clearly:—

HOMER, *Iliad*, b. v.

als, and gave him the faculty of distinguishing between Gods and men. But from your eyes, O Emperor, the Goddess has not yet removed that mist, otherwise you would have known better Pallas herself, and not have ranked men among the appearances of Demons. But how long, philosopher, replied the Emperor, is it since your eyes were purged of their darkness? It is a good while now, returned Apollonius, it is from the time in which I began to study philosophy. And how has it come to pass that you have considered as Gods my greatest enemies, said the Emperor? What, answered Apollonius, do you war with Iarchas and Phraotes, Indians, whom of all other men, I consider as divine and deserving of the appellation of Gods? I beg you may not turn the conversation to Indians, but answer me as to Nerva, your intimate friend, and his accomplices. What, said Apollonius, do you command me to plead his cause, or not? I do, returned the Emperor; plead it, for he is already convicted of his crime. And are not you also arraigned as being privy to the same? This is what I wish to be informed of? Listen, said Apollonius, and you shall hear how far I am concerned, for why should I conceal the truth? From this the Emperor had hopes of coming at some notable secrets, and concluded that every thing now promised fair for the ruin of these men.

CHAP. XXXIII.

WHEN Apollonius perceived that the Emperor's expectations were raised to the highest pitch, he said, I know Nerva to be one of the most moderate and mildest of men; I know that he is much attached to you, and is an excellent magistrate, and one so little disposed to meddle in affairs of state, that he even shrinks from the honours attending them. Besides, his friends, Rufus and Orfitus,

are, in my opinion, moderate men and despisers of worldly wealth; they are, in short, as far as I know them, men too backward to interfere where they ought, and is lawful.* Men of this description, O Emperor, do not readily attempt innovations in governments, nor have much inclination to lend assistance to those who do. On hearing this, the Emperor, burning with anger, exclaimed, And have you found me guilty of uttering a calumny against those men? Do you recommend as peaceable and loyal subjects those whom I have found out to be the vilest of mortals, and the common disturbers of my empire: men who, if interrogated about you, would probably say that you were neither an enchanter, nor hot-headed, nor a braggadocio, nor covetous, nor a despiser of the laws, so much are ye all agreed in mischief, ye wicked ones. But the charge now preferred against you, will bring all to light: for I know as well as if I had been on the spot with you, the oath which was taken on the occasion, and the cause and time of you meeting, and the sacrifice offered. But Apollonius, without being intimidated by what he heard, said, it is not honest in you, O King, nor agreeable to law, either to enter into a judicial discussion of what you are already persuaded, nor to be persuaded of that of which the merits have not been discussed. If such is your pleasure, permit me to begin my defence, with saying that you are prejudiced against me, and more unjust than the common informer; for what he has promised to prove, you take for granted without any proof. Begin then, said Domitian, your defence, from whatever circumstance you please, as to myself I know where I ought to begin, and end.

* Martial has an Epigram characteristic of Nerva's disposition.

"Quanta quies placidi, tanta est facundia Nervæ—

"Sed cohibet vires, ingeniumque pudor."

CHAP. XXXIV.

AFTER this the Emperor began to treat him with great contempt: he ordered his hair and beard to be cut off,* and to be sent back to prison loaded with irons, and cast among the vilest felons. It was on this occasion Apollonius said he did not know he incurred any danger on account of his hair: and added, if, O Emperor, you consider me as an enchanter, how can you think of binding me in chains? I have bound you, returned the Emperor, and I will not let you go till you first become either water, or a wild beast, or a tree. Though I was capable of becoming what you say, answered Apollonius, I will not do it, lest I should betray those men who run the risque of being unjustly put to death. What I am, that I will remain, subject to all you can inflict, till I have pleaded their cause. And who, said the Emperor, will defend you? Time, answered Apollonius, and the spirit of the Gods,† and the love of philosophy, to which I have been addicted.

CHAP. XXXV.

THIS, says Damis, was the preamble to the defence made by Apollonius in private before Domitian. There are some who give an invidious turn to the whole transaction,

* The cutting off the hair of guilty persons, seems to have been a punishment rather shameful, than painful: and yet it is thought that pain was added to the disgrace, and that they sometimes *tore* off the hair with violence, as if they were *plucking* a bird alive.

† A mode of speech rare amongst heathens, which Olearius supposes Apollonius learnt at Babylon. *Daniel, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods.* c. 4, v. 8.

and say that he first made his defence, was then put in irons, and afterwards shaved. They have also forged a letter, written in the Ionic dialect, and tediously prolix, wherein Apollonius is made to deprecate as a suppliant, the chains ordered by the Emperor. It is true that Apollonius wrote his will in that dialect; but though I have made a collection of most of his letters, I never saw one written in the same language. Besides, I never discovered he was prolix in his style; his letters being all concise, and composed after the manner of the dispatches of the Lacedemonian Scytale.* There can be no doubt of his coming off superior in his cause; and if so, how did it happen he was put in chains after sentence passed? But the question is not now of what took place at the trial, but of what preceded it, relative to the cutting of his hair, and the conversation on the occasion, which I have deemed worthy of notice.

CHAP. XXXVI.

TWO days after he was bound in chains, a stranger entered the prison, who said he could be of considerable service to him, if allowed a conference, and that the object of his visit was to advise with him on his present situation. He was a Syracusan,† *the mind and tongue of Domitian*, and like one some time ago, was suborned by the Emperor; but the part he had to act was better contrived and more difficult to be found out. The first took a most circuitous way of sounding Apollonius; the one we are now speaking of, began his attack at once, exclaiming, who, O ye Gods, could have thought of binding Apollo-

* As expressive of their brevity.

† This is agreeable to the style of speaking among the Persians, whose kings called their ministers, their *ears and eyes*.

nus in chains? He who did it, replied Apollonius; and he would not have done it, had he not thought himself capable of it; and who, continued the Syracusan, could have thought of cutting off your ambrosial hair? Myself, said Apollonius, who let it grow. And how do you bear your confinement? As a man should do, who came here, not entirely of his own accord, nor yet entirely against it. But pray, said the Syracusan, how do your legs bear the fetters? I know not, answered Apollonius, for my mind is otherwise employed. And yet, continued the other, the mind is in general affected by the sufferings of the body? Not at all, said Apollonius, because the mind, in a man of courage, will either not feel pain; or if it does, will be able to lighten it. And how, says the other, is the mind all the time employed? In not thinking of it, said Apollonius. The Syracusan then turned the conversation to the subject of the cutting off his hair, when Apollonius observed, it is well, young man, you were not one of those Greeks who sailed to Troy; for if you had, how much would you have lamented the loss of Achilles's hair, which he cut off in honour of Patroclus (if it was cut off) and how sorely would you have been distressed: for, if as you say, you really grieve for mine, among which are scattered many gray and squalid locks, what would have been your sufferings for the loss of his golden hair, so nicely trimmed and curled? All the Syracusan said, was spoken with the insidious design of trying his temper, and finding out whether he would reproach the Emperor for his sufferings. Being at last reduced to silence by the answers which fell from the lips of Apollonius, he said, you have incurred the Emperor's displeasure on many accounts, but particularly on account of Nerva and his friends having made their escape, though guilty of high treason. Certain false accusations have been also carried to him of some discourses held by you when in Ionia, and which have been reported as uttered with most hostile tendency. But as far as I un-

derstand, he pays little or no attention to such calumnies, because his displeasure on the present occasion has arisen from subjects of higher moment. And yet the man who has given him all his present information, is one who stands high in reputation. You allude, said Apollonius, to some person who has gained a crown at the Olympic Games, and now supposes he can acquire another by excelling in calumny. I know you mean Euphrates, who has calumniated me, and to whom I am indebted for other instances of similar kindness. This man, when he learnt I was going to visit the Gymnosophists in Ethiopia, even there had his malicious calumnies gone before me; and had I not had a previous knowledge of his wicked machinations, I might have been forced to return without having seen them. The Syracusan, amazed at what he heard, said, do you think it then of less account to be accused by the Emperor, than to be under-rated by the Gymnosophists on account of what Euphrates said. I do indeed, said he, for I went to them to acquire knowledge, and to you I am come to communicate it. To communicate what, are you come? returned the Syracusan. That I am of good and honest repute, replied Apollonius, of which the Emperor is ignorant. But I think, said the Syracusan, you would consult your own interest better, if you should tell him now, what if you had done before, you would never have been cast into prison. When Apollonius found that the discourse of the Syracusan was of the same tendency with that of the Emperor, and that it was expected he was to turn evidence against the men from dislike to his confinement, he said, if, my friend, I have merited these chains by speaking the truth to Domitian, what do you think I should gain by telling him the contrary? When he said this, the Syracusan left the prison, declaring that he admired Apollonius as a man who was more than a philosopher.

CHAP. XXXVII.

AS soon as he was gone, Apollonius, turning to Damis, says, did you understand that Python? I did, said he, and knew he was suborned for the very purpose of taking you by surprise: but I know not what you mean by Python, or who he was? Python,* returned Apollonius, was a Byzantine orator, a man, in the opinion of some, possessed of great powers of persuasion. He was sent by Philip, the son of Amyntas, to persuade the Greeks to submit to his yoke, who, regardless of the other Greeks, cultivated the Athenians alone, amongst whom the art of rhetoric flourished. He complained of the injuries they did Philip, and said they were highly criminal in their endeavours to restore Greece to its liberty, of which, they say, he made a public declaration before the people. But Demosthenes, the Pæanian, opposed this audacious man with great spirit, and writes that he alone was a match for him in speaking. For my own part I do not think my having made resistance to such a train of machinations a matter of very great consequence; he had the same part to act that Python had, for he was bribed by a tyrant's gold to give the worst advice.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

DAMIS says Apollonius held many conversations of the same kind, but for himself he confessed he had lost all

* Python, a native of Byzantium, in the age of Philip of Macedon. He was a great favourite of that monarch, who sent him to Thebes, when that city, at the instigation of Demosthenes, was going to take arms against him.

hopes, and saw no other way of escaping from their present difficulties, except what might arise from prayers to the Gods, which had saved them from greater perils. Sometime before mid-day, Damis said to him, O Tyanean (an appellation with which he was always pleased) what do you think will become of us? Nothing but what has usually happened to us, returned Apollonius, for there is no one will put us to death. And do you think, replied Damis, any one is invulnerable? Who, after saying this, asked, But when, Sir, will you be set at liberty? To-morrow, answered he, if it depended on the judge; and this instant, if it depended on myself. And without a word more,* he drew his leg out of the fetters, and said to Damis, You see the liberty I enjoy, and therefore I request you will keep up your spirits. It was on this occasion, Damis says, he was first sensible of Apollonius possessing a nature something divine, and above what was human. For without offering sacrifice, which he could not do in a prison, without sending up any prayers to the Gods, and without saying a word, he made a mockery of his fetters; and again put his leg into them, and continued to behave like men in chains.

C H A P. XXXIX.

OPERATIONS of this kind are ascribed to magicians by weaker mortals, who are subject to similar mistakes in many other things, the mere effects of human industry.

* As Damis's word is not enough to prove the fact mentioned in the text, it consequently can only be considered as the unfounded assertion of a weak man, easily imposed on, who was willing to magnify the character of his master at the expence of truth: therefore he who wishes to be deceived by the evidence of such a Sancho Panca, let him, I say, be deceived.

The very *athletæ*, and other candidates at the Olympic Games, fly to the magic art* from a desire of victory; and yet if they knew the truth, they would know that such means avail but little in securing it. Whatever success they meet with, is imprudently ascribed, not to themselves, but the magic art; and what is strange, is, that when the very contrary happens, it is attributed to the same cause. For they all say, had they sacrificed this thing, or burnt that, victory would not have deserted them; and of this they say they are persuaded. A similar species of folly pervades the houses of the merchants, who ascribe the profits arising from trade, to the arts of the enchanter, and their losses to a parsimony in sacrificing in a manner adequate to their means. But people in love, above all others, are devoted to this art, for they labour under a malady, which so peculiarly makes them the dupes of this imposition, that they have recourse even to the assistance and advice of old women. Nothing worthy of admiration is ever executed by those who consult the professors of this art, and lend their ears to magicians, who give out charmed girdles,† and stones,‡ some dug out of the

* Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that one Hilarius, a horse-racer, was put to death by Apronianus, then governor of Rome, for being convicted of having sent his son to a magician to be taught by him certain secret spells and charms, by which, without any man's knowledge, he might be enabled, in the way of his profession, to effect all he desired. A magician in those ages, says Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, was looked upon (as appears from Origen, adds he) to be one who, by the use of certain incantations and charms, and forms of barbarous words, or by the celebration of certain odd rites, could force superior beings or demons to assist him.

† *Φαρμακεια*—A divination commonly performed by certain medicated and enchanted compositions of herbs, minerals, &c. To this also belonged enchanted girdles and other things worn about the bodies, &c.

Sume Cytheriaco medicatum nectare ceston: MARTIAL.

‡ Called *Λιθομαντεια*—it was performed by a precious stone called Sderites,

bowels of the earth, and others that have fallen from the moon and stars: to which they add all the aromatics* that grow in the gardens of the Indians: by such means great fortunes are made by these people, and no good ever done to their duped votaries. If affection meets with a return, either from the good pleasure of the object beloved, or from the force of presents, the magic art is praised as all-powerful; but if it does not, the failure is laid to the account of something being omitted either in the burning or sacrificing the victim, or melting † something in the fire that ought to have been done; a matter looked on by them as of great moment. The means such impostors use to perform their wonderful tricks, have been all described by writers, who have uniformly derided the art. As to myself it is enough, by way of digression, to have shewn to young people that they should never form any connection with such false pretenders, or make themselves familiar with their practices, even in merriment and sport. I have done, for why dwell on a subject which is as contrary to the laws of nature, as it is to the laws of the land.

CHAP. XL.

WHILST Apollonius was shewing Damis what kind of man he was, and talking to him on a variety of subjects, a certain person entered the prison about mid-day, with the following verbal message from Domitian. The Em-

Siderites, which they washed in spring water in the night by candle-light.

* Verbenosque adole pingues, et mascula thura.

VIRGIL.

† —Hæc ut cera liquescit

Uno codemque igni sic nostro Daphnis amore.

VIRGIL.

peror, says he, at the solicitation of Ælian, orders you to be loosed from your fetters, and gives you leave to inhabit a more roomy apartment till the time for making your defence arrives, and which, I hear, will be allowed you five days hence. But who, said Apollonius, will take me out of this place? I myself, answered the stranger, come, and follow me. As soon as they who inhabited this new part of the prison where Apollonius was carried, cast their eyes upon him, they all run and embraced him, as one restored to them contrary to all expectation. For like as children love their parents, who give them good advice with gentleness, and tell all that befel them in their youth, so did these prisoners express their regard for Apollonius, in the most public manner. As to Apollonius, he never ceased giving advice.

CHAP. XLI.

THE day after Apollonius called Damis to him, and said, I must make my defence at the time appointed: but do you, my friend, take the road leading to Dicæarchia,* and go on foot, as it is the better mode of travelling; you will salute Demetrius, and then turn to the sea-side, where is the island of Calypso, and there you will see me. What, alive,† said Damis, or how else? At hearing this, Apollonius laughed, and answered, alive in my opinion, but in yours, raised from the dead.‡

* Puteoli.

† See b. 8, c. 10.

‡ On voit par-là (says Du Pin) que Philostrate affecte de relever les moindres circonstances des discours et des actions d'Apollone, afin de les faire passer pour des merveilles et de les faire cadrer aux événements qu'il suppose être arrivez.

After this, Damis says, he set out sore against his will, doubtful between hope and fear, and not knowing whether he would be saved, or perish. Arriving at Dicæarchia the third day, he heard of a violent storm at sea, accompanied with heavy rain, in which some vessels were lost, and others driven to the Sicilian straits. When Damis heard this, he understood why Apollonius advised him to make his journey on foot.

CHAP. XII.

THE day after Apollonius called Damis to him, and said, I must make my debate in the time appointed; but do you, my friend, take the road leading to Dicæarchia, and go on foot, as it is the better mode of travelling; you will salute Demetrius, and then turn to the sea-side, where is the island of Calpe, and there you will see me. What answer said Damis, or how else it being this Apollonius laughed, and answered, also in my opinion, but in yours, mind from the death.

BOOK VIII.—CONTENTS.

Trial of Apollonius before Domitian—Apology, Departure from the Tribunal, and sudden Appearance at Puteoli after the Trial—Sails into Greece—Goes to Olympia—Visits the Cave of Trophonius—Sees at Ephesus the Murder of Domitian as it happened at Rome—His Letter to Nerva—His Mode of leaving this World unknown.

CHAP. I.

LET us now approach the tribunal, and hear Apollonius make his defence. We are told that from sun-rise the people of the higher ranks had access to the court. Some persons belonging to the royal household say, that the Emperor eat nothing from the preceding day, which must have arisen from his thoughts being all taken up with the business which was to come before him. It is said he perused the indictment which was given him, sometimes in great wrath, and sometimes with more composure. I think we may represent Domitian to our minds as a man highly incensed at the laws for ever having suffered such things as tribunals to have been constructed.

CHAP. II.

ON this occasion, Apollonius appears more like a man taking a part in a mere matter of dispute, than in that of pleading a cause in which his life was concerned, and this, I think, is manifest from what took place before the trial.

Whilst on his way, he asked the officer of the court, who conducted him, where they were taking him? who replied, to the tribunal. Then, said Apollonius, against whom am I to plead? Against your accuser, returned the officer; and afterwards the Emperor will give sentence. But who, said Apollonius, will judge between the Emperor and me? for I will demonstrate the injury he does philosophy. And what cares the Emperor, answered the officer, whether he injures philosophy or not? And yet, returned Apollonius, it is of infinite consequence to philosophy that the Emperor governs with prudence and discretion. As this remark met the full approbation of the officer, who, from the first, was well-disposed to Apollonius, he said, What quantity of water will you require for your defence,* a circumstance necessary to be known before you make it. If, replied Apollonius, the Emperor permits me to say as much as the cause requires, all the water of the Tiber will not be enough to measure the time; but if only as much as I wish, the interrogant will fix the limits of time necessary for the respondent. I see, said the officer, you have cultivated very opposite talents, in the knowledge you have acquired of speaking either briefly, or at length, on the same subject. The talents you mean, said Apollonius, are not opposite, but very similar, for he who excels in the one, will not be deficient in the other; but there is a talent lying between both, and equally partaking of one and the other, which constitutes, not what I shall call the third, so much as the first talent, of an oration. My fourth talent on a trial, is what I call silence. Sure, returned the officer, this is a talent which can be of no use, either to you or any other person in a capital in-

* Here an allusion is made to the Clepsydra, which will be more particularly mentioned in a future note.

formation. And yet, said Apollonius, it was extremely useful to Socrates, the Athenian, when he delivered himself from the charge brought against him. And pray, answered the officer, how did it serve him, inasmuch as he died in consequence of his being silent. He did not die, said Apollonius, but the Athenians believed it. It was thus Apollonius was prepared against every thing which could befall him from the tyrant.

CHAP. III.

WHILST they were waiting at the door of the tribunal, another officer belonging to the same, came up, and said, Tyanean, you must enter naked. What, returned Apollonius, is it to bathe, or to plead my cause I am come here? What I have said, replied the officer, alludes, not to your clothes, but to the Emperor's order, forbidding your bringing with you either amulet, or book, or charm, or any writing whatever. And does he also forbid, continued Apollonius, my bringing along with me a rod for the back of those who have given him such foolish advice. On hearing this, the accuser cried out with a loud voice, This conjurer, O Emperor! threatens me with stripes, as being the man who gave you this advice. To which Apollonius answered, if that is so, you are more of a conjurer than I am, for you confess you have persuaded the Emperor to believe I am *that* which I never could make him comprehend that I am not. One of the freed men of Euphrates stood by the side of the accuser all the time he was uttering these calumnies. This man had been sent by Euphrates into Ionia to collect every thing Apollonius said whilst there, with orders at the same time to furnish the accuser with whatever money he might want. This is what may be called the prelude, as it were, to the trial.

C H A P. IV.

WHAT passed at the trial is as follows.* The court was fitted up as if a panegyric was to be pronounced in it. All the illustrious men of the day attended the emperor, who was particularly anxious to make it appear that the persons accused were concerned in the guilt of rebellion. Apollonius treated the Emperor with a great degree of supercilious pride, without once deigning to look at him. This mark of disrespect was turned to the disadvantage of Apollonius by the accuser, who commanded him to look on the Emperor as the God of all men.† When Apollonius heard this, he lifted up his eyes to the vaulted arch of the court, and by his gesture shewed they were turned to Jupiter, and that he looked on him who admitted of such gross flattery, viler than the flatterer himself. On this the accuser exclaimed,‡ measure out now, O Emperor, the water for him, for if this fellow is suffered to speak without some certain limits first assigned, he will suffocate us all. I have here

* This trial, Echard, in his Ecclesiastical History, supposes to have taken place in the fourteenth year of Domitian, under the consulship of Asprenas and Lateranus, a little before the second general persecution of the church, about twenty five years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

† When Domitian dictated, says Suetonius, the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus, "*Our Lord and God commands so and so,*" whence it became a custom to style him so, both in writing and conversation.

‡ The time which judicial speeches were not suffered to exceed, was previously fixed, according to the nature of the cause, and was regulated by the dropping of water through a glass called Clepsydra.

the roll containing the heads of the charge to which he must answer, and reply distinctly to each and every one of them.

CHAP. V.

THE Emperor commended the accuser for his good advice, and ordered Apollonius to plead in the way he (his accuser) should prescribe. Hence those articles were omitted which did not deserve notice, and four only retained, as being esteemed most embarrassing and difficult to be answered. The accuser thus began his examination. What is the reason, Apollonius, you do not wear the same kind of garments other men do, but only such as are peculiar, and truly singular? Because, replied he, the earth which supplies me with food, supplies me also with raiment, and by wearing garments derived from it, I offer no injury to miserable animals. The accuser proceeded, Why do men call you a God? Because, said he, every man that is good, is entitled to the appellation.* How this doctrine came to form part of his philosophical system, has been already shewn by the conversations he held when among the Indians. His third interrogatory turned on the plague at Ephesus, and he was asked, whether it was by an instinctive impulse or mere conjecture he predicted it? By living on a lighter diet than other men, O Emperor, I was the first, said he, to foresee its approach: and if it now meets your approbation, I will enumerate the several causes of pestilential diseases. Domitian, apprehending lest he might consider among the

* This is one attestation, says Dr. Enfield, among many others, of Apollonius's great celebrity, that during his lifetime, he was called a God, and accepted the appellation, saying that every good man is honored by it.

causes, his injustice, his incestuous nuptials,* said, it was not necessary at present to enter into the detail. On the accuser's coming to the fourth interrogatory, relative to the suspected persons, he did not at once enter on it with ardor, but paused long, like one in deep thought; and then, as if embarrassed, brought it forward in a way which disappointed all present, who supposed the mask would be thrown off, that no mercy would be shewn to any of them, and that loud complaints would be made of the sacrifice. But the case was the very reverse, for the accuser approaching the question, as it were, by little and little, said, tell me, Apollonius, on whose account you sacrificed a boy on the day you left your house and went into the country? Apollonius, like one chiding a child, said, good words I beseech you: if it can be proved I left my house on the day alluded to, I will grant my being in the country and offering the sacrifice in question; and if I did offer such a sacrifice, I will allow (what is of all things the most atrocious) that I eat of the human flesh on the occasion. At the same time that I allow all this, I must say, that it will require persons of both credit and character to substantiate the fact. On saying this, a shout of applause arose, louder than what was suitable to the gravity of an imperial tribunal. This note of praise was ascribed by the Emperor to the approbation of the spectators, and being himself affected by the strength and ingenuity of his answers, he said, I acquit you of the crimes laid to your charge, but here you shall stay till I have had some private conversation with you. As this mode of acquittal added new strength to the natural courage of Apollonius, he replied, I thank you, O King, for this; but on account of the wicked informers by whom you are infested, I must tell you, your cities are in ruins,

* Book vii. c. 7.

the islands are filled with exiles, the continent with groans, the army with fears, and the senate with suspicions. Listen to me if you please, if not, send persons to take my body, for it is impossible to take my soul: and I will add, not even my body, for as Homer says, “not even thy deadly spear can slay me, because I am not mortal,” in uttering these words, he vanished* from the tribunal, taking the wisest part, as I think, when all the circumstances of the case are considered: for it was notorious that the Emperor was insincere, and bore him no good will; and that had he remained, he would have been interrogated on matters very irrelevant, merely from idle curiosity. In the part Domitian acted, he thought himself entitled to great credit for not having put him to death; and Apollonius, by what he did, thought he had secured himself from ever falling into the like difficulties. Besides, he judged that it would make his peculiar character better known to the world, and at the same time shew that there would be no possibility of taking him against his will; and lastly, that it would free him from any fears he might have of injuring the men in question. For how would it be possible for

* But the great miracle of all, says Bishop Parker, was his vanishing away at his trial before Domitian, in the presence of all the great men of Rome. But then, though our historian be very desirous we should believe it, yet he falters afterwards, like a guilty liar, in his confidence. In the passage before us, he positively affirms, *ηφανισθη*—he quite vanished away, and yet in the 8th chapter, which follows, he only says *απηλθε*—he went away. And this, though he would seem to affirm, that it was after a wonderful manner, and nobody knows how, is a pitiful abatement to the bigness of his former expression, “*vanishing away*.” Though the truth is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have proved itself a lie: for it is utterly incredible, that so strange a thing as that should have been done in so great a presence, and yet never any notice be taken of it. Of course it certainly was [a gross untruth, and the historian who could be guilty of such disingenuity, deserves little credit as to almost any thing he says.

the tyrant to sentence men to death, under any plausible colour of law, whose crimes had not been legally proved, and concerning whom no inquiry had been instituted. This is all that passed at the trial as far as I can find.

CHAP. VI.

BUT as a speech was written by Apollonius, which he intended to have spoken by the Clepsydra, I shall give it to the public, though he did not speak it, in consequence of the Emperor having confined him to the four interrogatories before enumerated. I know the speech is not relished by persons who approve of no style of speaking but what is seasoned with such language as only the licence of a buffoon could warrant; they say, also, it is not so correct as what it ought to be, and is not sufficiently elevated either in language or sentiment. But when I take into consideration the character of the man as a philosopher, I think he would not have rightly consulted the respect due to it, by delivering a speech full of measured cadences and antitheses, and words sounding like timbrels, a species of oratory fit for rhetoricians, but not for such men as Apollonius. For the power of eloquence in judicial pleadings, if once it becomes apparent, will make the speaker be suspected of a design of imposing on his judges: but when concealed, he will come off victorious. Eloquence has effect in proportion as its manifest object is kept out of sight of him who sits in judgment. A wise man, in defending himself, (for he who is wise will never bring to trial those whom he can punish himself) will pursue a different practice from what they do who pass their lives in judicial proceedings. The speech of a wise man should be laboured without appearing to be so, and should possess an elevation of mind that scorned the common forms of pleading. He should not suffer persons to

imagine that he wished to excite compassion, for why should he endeavour to do it, who suffers no intercession to be made in his favour? Such, I think, the following defence will appear to all who have not been heedless listeners either to me or him. Here is the speech just as it was composed by him.

CHAP. VII.

THE defence intended to have been spoken by Apollonius before the Emperor Domitian—1. The cause at present before us, O Emperor, is concerning matters of great moment. You run a greater risk than ever Emperor did, if you appear, without reason, to be the enemy of philosophy; and I encounter a greater danger than ever Socrates at Athens did, whose accusers affirmed, he supported new opinions touching the religion of the state, but they did not call him a God, nor did they think him one. As the danger hanging over us both is so imminent, I will not fear to give you that advice, of which I feel myself persuaded. Since an informer has given rise to the difference at present subsisting between you and me, an opinion is gone abroad of us, little conformable to the truth. It is imagined, that in hearing this cause, you will listen only to anger, and consequently, that I shall be put to death without considering whether a sentence of that nature is right or wrong. As to myself, it is believed, I shall withdraw from the tribunal by some of the various ways that are supposed to be in my power. Though all these things have reached my ears, I do not therefore appear with any prejudice against you, nor do I think unfavourably of the hearing you will give my cause. In obedience to the laws I stand before my judge, and I advise him to listen to their voice. Justice requires of you neither to condemn me

without a fair hearing, nor to carry to the seat of judgment any prejudice whatever, or persuasion of my having committed any evil against your person or interest. I know you trust in Armenians, and Babylonians, and others bearing rule in the most distant provinces, who command a numerous cavalry, and legions of archers and soldiers, and a rich country: and you would laugh, I suppose, if told that any one of them could deprive you of your empire; and yet you distrust a poor harmless unarmed philosopher, as if he had the means of attacking the Emperor of Rome; and listen to the idle tales of an Egyptian sycophant, of whose truth you have received no intimation from Pallas, whom you consider as your protectress, and guardian Deity. This I do not understand, unless it is that calumny and flattery have so prospered with some men, as to have given them the power of making you believe, that in things of little consequence, as for instance, opthalmies, and fevers, and intestine complaints, the Gods condescend to act as your advisers, and sometimes even as your physicians; but that in matters wherein the interest of the state, and your own individual security are concerned, these same Gods neither council you as to the persons you should avoid, nor as to the way in which you should guard against your enemies. Have they persuaded you to think, that calumniators stand in the place of the Ægis of Pallas, and the hand of Jove? Is it possible, I say, such men could make you believe, that in what concerns your own safety, they know more than what the Gods themselves do; and that their sleeping and waking is all for your sake, if ever it can be supposed such men sleep, who are heaping woes upon woes, and composing, as the proverb says, a succession of Iliads. Let these men then have the liberty of keeping white horses, and driving about the forum in splendid equipages: let them eat off gold and silver, and form alliances by marriages, and maintain

boys at a monstrous expence, and intrigue with married women whilst it can be done in secret; and afterwards marry the victims of their adulteries when discovered, and be praised for their glorious deeds; whilst a philosopher, or a man of consular rank, of the best character, if he happens to fall into their hands, is unjustly devoted by you to destruction at their suggestion. That such wretches should be suffered to indulge in this abominable style of living, and at the same time be considered as wiser than the rest of mankind, and more knowing than the Gods, is what I cannot praise, nor reflect on without the greatest horror. If such conduct meets your approbation, I should not wonder if these men were to accuse you of holding heretical opinions concerning the established religion; and I should expect that such an accusation should be brought against yourself, whenever these sycophants shall have no one else to accuse. But I find I am acting rather as a plaintiff than a defendant; and therefore I hope you will pardon me for having spoken in favour of laws, which ought to govern you, if you wish to govern others.

2. But who is to be my advocate? For if I invoke Jupiter, by whom I know I live, I shall be called an enchanter, and said to bring down heaven on earth. That being so, let us appeal to a man, whom many suppose dead, but I do not; I mean your father, in whose eyes I was held in the same estimation as he is in yours. He made you Emperor, but I made him. He shall be my advocate in pleading my cause, for he knows my affairs better than you do. He came into Egypt before he was made Emperor, to offer sacrifice to the Gods of the country, and to confer with me on the then critical state of the empire. When he met me in my long flowing hair, and in the dress I now wear, he made no particular inquiries about it, from an idea that every thing I did was

right. He confessed he undertook the journey on my account; he parted with me after much commendation, and said he had communicated with no other person, nor had heard from any man what he heard from me. I confirmed him in his purpose of aspiring to the diadem, though *others** made him hesitate, which, I think, you yourself would consider as unwise; and the men who advised him against taking into his hands the reins of government, were they who would have deprived you of the power of succeeding him. I advised him to think himself deserving of the empire, which was, as it were, at his door, and to make you his heir. He acknowledged the wisdom of my advice, which raised him to the summit of his wishes, and you likewise. Had he deemed me a magician, he would never have made me acquainted with his most secret purposes. When he first met me, he did not speak of my compelling the Fates, or of my affecting a power greater than Jupiter himself, or even of my pretending to any thing extraordinary in order to shew and prove my character, as for instance, of making the sun rise in the west, and set in the east, &c. I should not have considered him worthy of the throne, had he thought me capable of such a conduct, or of having recourse to any other means in seeking it, than those pointed out by virtue. Moreover, I discoursed with him publicly in the temples of the Gods, which are known to be avoided by the corporation of magicians, as being holy, and hostile to their craft, who, wrapped up in darkness and obscurity, suffer not their foolish votaries to make use of either their eyes or ears. I have talked with him also in private, when only Euphrates and Dion were present, of whom the first was my greatest enemy, and the latter a friend, tied to me by all the bonds of affection: for whilst I live, I shall

* Dion and Euphrates.

never cease ranking Dion amongst my best friends. Who would presume talking of magic before wise men, or men pretending to wisdom? And who is there that is not desirous of appearing in a good light as well to friends as foes? on the contrary, we have spoken against magicians. You will not perhaps believe, that your father trusted more to magic, in looking to the empire, than to his own virtue; and that it was at my suggestion alone, he ascribed the acquisition of it to the Gods. Vespasian, before his coming into Egypt, entertained hopes of gaining the empire; and after his arrival, he talked to me only of the most important subjects, namely, the laws, the right possession of riches, the lawful worship of the Gods, and the advantages, which they who govern according to justice, are to hope from such conduct. To such subjects I need not say that magicians are the greatest enemies; and why? because whenever the laws are in force, the magic art is gone.

3. There is one thing, O Emperor! you ought to consider, which is, that all the arts exercised by men, though different in their operations, have but one object, which is the acquisition of money, of which some bring in little, others much, and others only bare necessaries. This is not only the object of the servile, but also of the liberal arts, and those that have any affinity with them, to the exception of philosophy alone. I call the liberal arts, poetry, music, astronomy, logic, and oratory, as practised in the forum by sophists and rhetoricians. The arts allied to the liberal ones, are painting, carving, sculpture, pilotage, and agriculture, when under the guidance and regulation of the seasons. These are arts which are not much inferior to what are called the liberal. There is also an art, O Emperor! that does not appertain to true wisdom, and is only becoming the practice of vain quacks and mountebanks, which ought not to be confounded with the art of divination; an art, if true, most highly to

be prized; and yet I am at a loss whether to call it an art, or not. Magicians, I affirm, are pseudosophists, and I attribute entirely to the heated imaginations of their duped votaries, the power they possess of making that which is, appear as if it was not; and that which is not, appear as if it was. The truth is, their whole art lies in the deluded fancies of the spectators. And yet magic is an art, for they who profess it, love money, and all the impositions they practise, is for the sake of vile lucre. They amass great wealth by deluding all their votaries, who are fond of it, and making them believe they can do every thing. But of what wealth have you discovered me possessed, O Emperor! as to make you think I profess a pseudophilosophy? particularly as I am the man whom your father found superior to corruption by money.

To shew you I utter the truth, where is the letter of that great, if not rather divine man, wherein he praises me for many things, but above all things for my poverty?

The Emperor Vespasian's Letter to the Philosopher
Apollonius, greeting.

"If all men, Apollonius, as well as you, would but cultivate philosophy, philosophy and poverty would flourish and be happy. The former would then be above corruption, and the latter respected. Farewel."

This is the defence your father set up for me, in which he ascribed to me a philosophy incorruptible, and a voluntary poverty. He remembered what happened in Egypt, when Euphrates and others, that masked themselves under the cloak of philosophy, came to him, asking for money, and that not in silence. As to myself, I never paid him court for the sake of money, and ever discouraged those who did, as soon as I discovered them not sincere in the cause of philosophy. From my very youth I despised riches: the fortune I derived from my forefathers, which was considerable, appeared to me but as

the transitory possession of a day, and I gave it up to my brothers, and friends, and indigent relations, having learnt, as it were, from my cradle, the virtue of living on a little. I speak nothing here of Babylon, and India on the other side Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, countries which I traversed always like myself: how I conducted myself in them and abstained from money, I appeal even to the testimony of the Egyptian himself. With respect to the criminal conduct and wicked councils imputed to me, he has not set forth either what I acquired by them, or what I proposed to acquire. And does he now think me so mad as to turn magician and perpetrate crimes for nothing, which are committed by others so much to their own advantage? Is it expected I should have a market, with a cryer proclaiming thus, "Come hither, all ye blockheads who have lost your senses, I practise magic, not for money, but for nothing: you shall all and every one of you obtain whatever you wish, and I shall have the satisfaction of being exposed to all the dangers and informations arising from it."

4. But not to be carried away too far by this foolish rhapsody, let me ask of my accuser to what charge I must first speak? And why necessary to interrogate him? for he, in the exordium of his speech, spoke of my dress, and of the particular kind of food of which I did, and did not, eat. To you, O divine Pythagoras! I will commit my defence on these two articles; for we are summoned here to give an account of those peculiar precepts of which you are the author, and I the follower. The earth, O Emperor! supplies all things necessary for man, who, if they would but live in peace with the brute beasts, would want for nothing needful to existence. Enough may be had from her, by the help of the plough and sickle, to support her own children, according to the proper seasons. But men, forgetful, as it were, of all her favours to them, have unsheathed the sword against her

animals, for the sake of procuring food and raiment. Such a conduct on their part was not approved by the Indian Brachmans, who persuaded the Gymnosophists of Egypt not to sanction it by their approbation. When Pythagoras, the first Greek who ever conversed with the Egyptians, understood this, he left the earth its animals, and lived on its genuine productions, from an idea of their being clean, and sufficient to support soul and body. Garments made from what hath life, and which are worn by the bulk of mankind, he held as impure; and on that account he clothed himself in linen, and wore shoes, in obedience to the same rule of discipline, made out of the bark of trees. From this pure mode of living he derived many advantages, and above all, that of knowing his own soul, for he knew he lived at the time when Troy was besieged on account of the rape of Helen, that he, who was the most beautiful of the sons of Panthus, wore the finest clothes, was killed in the flower of his age, and was lamented by Homer for his untimely fate. After migrating through various bodies, agreeable to the Adrastian law, which requires the soul's passage through different states, he at length assumed the human form, and was born of Mnesarchus the Samian, being changed from a barbarian into a sage, and from a Trojan into an Ionian; and rendered so immortal in death, that he never forgot he was Euphorbus. I have now given the father of my philosophical system, and proved that it is not my invention, but that of another, and is come to me as an inheritance. But however that is, I will not condemn those who feast on the Phœnicopterus,* or the bird of

* Phœnicopterus, Red Flamingo, a bird, having its wings of a crimson colour, whose tongue was a great dainty among the Romans:

Et Scythicæ Volucres et Phœnicopterus ingens. JUVENAL.

Apicius describes the scientific mode of seasoning them. Heliogabalus ordered for his table dishes filled with their tongues.

Phasis,* or the martin of Pannonia,† which is fattened up for the banquets of those who indulge in every kind of luxury. I will pass no sentence against those who buy fish at greater price, than what were formerly given by the rich for horses branded with the mark Koppa.‡ I will envy no man his wearing purple or Pamphylian garments;§ but I will, O ye Gods! strive to defend myself from an action brought against me for eating asphodels, and fruits, and pure food.

5. My very garments are not safe, for my accuser endeavours to deprive me of them, just as if a particular kind of dress was a matter of some moment in the eyes of a magician. But if once the doctrine which makes the difference between animate and inanimate things be done away, in the observance, or neglect of which, one may appear pure and another not, wherein will be the advantage of wearing a linen habit in preference to one of wool? The wool is shorn from the gentlest of all ani-

* Pheasants, or the birds of Phasis, were confined, it is said, to Colchis, before the expedition of the Argonauts, who, finding these beautiful birds scattered on the banks of that river, carried them home to Greece.

† Martin of Pannonia—this is not mentioned in the text, and is only collected from an epigram of Martial, which says,

“*Pannonicas nobis nunquam dedit Umbria cattas.*”

What animal is understood by *cattæ*, is not known accurately.

‡ This custom of marking horses with some letter is very ancient, and is mentioned in the clouds of Aristophanes, *ὅτ' ἐπρίμαντο τοὺς κοππατίαν*, &c.—Eustathius says, the Græek letter *Cappa* is called by some *Coppa*. The custom which we have at this day of marking horses on the flank with a red-hot iron is mentioned in Anacreon.

Εν ἱσθίοις μὲν ἵπποι
Πυρὸς χαραγμὲν ἔχουσιν

§ Pamphylian garments.—Olearius supposes the sheep that pastured among the rocks of Pamphylia produced fleeces, from the wool of which most expensive garments were made.

mals, one dear to the Gods* themselves, who have not disdained being shepherds. An animal which the Gods, or ancient fables, have adorned with gold.† Flax is sown without previous preparation, and no fables whatever make any allusion to it of gold. But as it is not torn from any living creature, the Indians and Egyptians reckon it pure, and on that account it is the cause of its supplying Pythagoras and me with the garments we wear, whilst engaged in disputing, praying, and sacrificing. We even suppose the mere passing the night under linen contributes to a greater purity; for the dreams of those who live as I do, are wont to convey more luminous oracles.

6. It is necessary also for me to set up a defence on account of my hair, which I formerly let grow; seeing a charge of a criminal nature is preferred against me for its negligent, undrest appearance. An accusation of this kind surely comes not well from the mouth of an Egyptian, who would have acted more in character, had he brought such a charge against those nice, well-drest beaux with golden hair, whose only object is to kindle a flame in the hearts of their mistresses, to whom they are so assiduous in paying their addresses. The accuser has my full permission to think them happy in their flowing perfumed locks, provided he does not deprive me of the pleasure I enjoy in my negligence of attire, and dislike of love. But what follows, is the answer I shall make to his objections. I will say, Cease, ye unhappy youths, to disparage by your calumnies, an invention of the Dorians. The letting the hair grow, is a custom derived from the Lacedemonians, who adopted it at the time when their military character

* Apollo—Pan—and Mercury.

† The ram with the golden fleece, the offspring of Neptune and Theophane, so celebrated in ancient story.

was at its highest pitch. Leonidas,* King of Sparta, wore his hair long as a mark of courage; he wore it so to appear venerable to his friends, and formidable to his foes. Hence Sparta wore the hair in his time as it did in that of Lycurgus and Iphitus. Scissars should never come in contact with the hair of a wise man. It is a sacrilege to let them approach the head, the source and seat of all the senses, from whence proceed oracles, and prayers, and speech, the interpreter of wisdom. Empedocles† marched boldly through the most frequented places of Greece with his hair tied up in fine purple fillets, reciting hymns, in which he announced his change from a man to a God.‡ Yet I, who wear my hair careless and neglected, and never composed any hymns in praise of it, am dragged to justice before this tribunal. But what shall I say of Empedocles? Was it the effect of his own happy temper, or that of the age in which he lived, that he was never exposed to the tongue of calumny on account of it.

7. However, on the subject of hair I will not say a word more: mine has been cut off, and the prejudice which preceded this part of my accusation, makes it now necessary for me to vindicate myself from another most grievous charge, which in itself, O King! is enough not only to terrify you, but even Jupiter himself. My accuser says, Men think me a God, and publish this opinion, which they found on the various tricks and delusions I practise. Now, before an accusation of this kind should be made,

* Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave, and according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The answer brought back by Xerxes's messenger from Thermopylæ, was, that the Lacedemonians were employed in combing their hair.

† Diogenes Laertius says, that Empedocles, after restoring peace and good government in Agrigentum, clothed himself in purple, and wore a golden girdle, as Phavorinus says, and a Delphic crown, and had servants attending him.

‡ See b. i. c. 1.

I think it would be first right to mention the subjects of my disputation; and next, the wonderful things, either said or done, that could have prevailed on men to worship me. I never declared to the Greeks either from what body my soul has migrated, or into what body it is to migrate, though perfectly acquainted with it. I never spread abroad such an opinion of myself, nor went about publishing oracles and predictions in my favour, like other itinerant fanatics. I never knew of any city making proclamation of offering sacrifice to Apollonius; yet I have benefitted as many as stood in need of my assistance, and many there have been who required it in curing the sick, in promoting a stricter observance of religious ceremonies, and in checking oppression by giving a greater energy to the laws. And what has been my reward for all this? Nothing but the reformation thereby effected, wherein I considered myself as having rendered to you, O Emperor! a great service. For as graziers serve their employers by keeping their cattle always in good condition, and as shepherds take care to fatten their sheep for the benefit of their employers, and bee-keepers save their hives from distempers for the better security of their master's swarms, so did I bring your cities under a more regular police by correcting in them whatever I found amiss. If then they considered me as a God, it is to you the error would have been of service; under this delusion they would have listened more willingly to any advice of mine, through the fear of doing any thing displeasing to the Gods. But the truth is, they never formed any such opinion of me; they conceived, and rightly too, that men had some degree of affinity with a deity, in virtue of which, they of all creatures know a God, and can reason philosophically of their own nature, and how far it is participant of the divine. Our form speaks its likeness to a God, as appears* from the arts of

* Statuaries and painters always represent the Gods with human countenances.

statuary and painting. The virtues are supposed to descend from the Gods, in consequence of which, they who are endowed with them, most resemble them. I will not call the Athenians the authors of this sentiment on account of their being the first who gave men the titles of *Just*, and *Olympian*,* and other† like appellations, which seem to include something more divine than what is befitting mortals; but I will call the Pythian Apollo himself the author of it, as appears from what I am going to mention. Lycurgus of Sparta visited the temple of Apollo after delivering to his countrymen that code of laws and statutes on which their city was founded. The God ‡ addressed him on his entrance, and it is said, seemed to deliberate, as it were, with himself what judgment he should form of him, in giving his answer; at first he was in doubt whether to call him a God or a man, and at last decreed him the style and title of a God, as being a man of virtue. No process of any kind was issued against Lycurgus for this, nor did he incur any danger with the Lacedemonians, either for having aspired to immortality, or for having not corrected the Pythian God for his mode of salutation. The answer returned by the oracle gained universal assent, from a full conviction that Lycurgus merited the appellation before it was delivered. This doctrine is that of the Indians and Egyptians. The latter blame the Indians in some things, and call in question certain of their precepts touching morality; but the doctrine which the philosophers of the East

* Aristides and Pericles, the former obtained the appellation of *the just* on account of his integrity—and the latter that of the *Olympian*, on account of his commanding eloquence.

† Olearius says, Cleon was surnamed Pythius.

‡ Herodotus has preserved the answer of the oracle.—

“Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,

“Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.

“Or God, or mortal: how shall I decide;

“Doubtless to heaven, most dear, and most allied.”

hold of the *Demiurgus*,* or maker of all things, is so approved of by the Egyptians, that they instruct others in its tenets, notwithstanding it is of Indian origin. This doctrine acknowledges God to be the author of nature and of all existence; and makes his goodness the efficient cause of all things. If, then, goodness is so intimately connected with the Divinity, I cannot avoid considering myself founded in the opinion of good men partaking of the Divine nature. By the world, which depends on God as its great *Demiurgus*, we understand all things in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, of which all men equally partake, though their several conditions as to fortune may be very different. But there is a world in every good man's power, the regulation of which does not exceed the limits of human wisdom, which you will allow, O Emperor! requires a man like unto a God to govern. What is the appearance of this world? Souls in a state of corruption assume various forms in despite of reason. Laws to them seem obsolete, moderation lost, the worship of the Gods neglected, idle-talking in fashion, and dissipation, from whence flows indolence, the very worst counsellor in all things. Souls of this description, besotted, as it were, by intemperance, plunge inconsiderately into a variety of excess, and nothing is able to restrain their wild irregularity: not if they were to swallow all those potions, which, like mandragora,†

* From all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians, and by Chinese, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures. Sir W. Jones on the Philosophy of the Asiatics.

† ——— Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep,
Which thou owedst yesterday. OTHELLO.

are medicined for sleep. The man who is to take the care of regulating a world of such souls as these, should resemble a God* deputed by Divine wisdom. He alone is capable of recalling them from love, to which they are carried by more than usual bias; and from avarice, which is never satisfied with riches till choaked by them. Such a man may, perhaps, not find it impossible to keep them from the pollution of murder, but† to purge them for murder committed, is neither possible for me, nor for that God who is the maker of all things.

S. Now as to the charge of my having restored health to Ephesus, let my accuser bring it forward in the way most fitting his purpose: let him, if he pleases, urge it in the following manner, The Scythians and Celtæ, who dwell not far from the banks of the Danube and Rhine, have a town belonging to them, not much inferior to Ephesus in Ionia. This town is the bulwark to the barbarians, your enemies. A plague was on the point of destroying it, and Apollonius saved it. In a case like this, a wise man would not be without his answer, if the Emperor wished to destroy his enemies by force of arms, and not by force of disease. But God forbid, O Emperor! that any city should be utterly destroyed either by you or me; and as to myself, I would not like to see diseases in the temples,‡ to where the sick repair for the sake of health. But granting it was not necessary to assist the barbarians in their distress, or to restore them to health when sick, on account of being the great and implacable enemies of our nation; who, I say, will presume to say

* Θεὸς ἀπο σοφίας, seems to allude, in the opinion of Olearius, to the well-known phrase of Θεὸς ἀπο μηχανῆς—the introduction of a God on the stage.

“Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus

“Inciderit.”

HORACE.

† Ἀπονιψάει.—By those who spoke accurately, to wash the hands before supper, was termed νιψασθαι—to wash after supper ἀπονιψασθαι.

‡ Temples of Esculapius.

it was not right to deliver Ephesus from the plague? Ephesus that derives its origin from the purest Attic* source, that has grown in rank above all the cities in Ionia or Lydia, and has stretched even to the sea by means of the neck of land on which it is built. A city rich in the literary labours of its philosophers and rhetoricians, insomuch, that it flourishes not so considerably by the strength of its cavalry, as by the number of its citizens devoted to science. Do you think there is any wise man who would not take much pains to save a city like this? particularly if he called to mind Democritus† who delivered the people of Abdera from a plague; and Sophocles the Athenian, who appeased the winds‡ when blowing louder than usual; or if he recollected Empedocles' § checking the fury of a cloud when ready to burst over Agrigentum.

9. But I see the accuser looking at me; you see it also, O Emperor! he says I am accused, not for having

* Founded by Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens.

† This account of Democritus's delivering the Abderites from a plague, is not mentioned by Laertius—he says, however, that he was honored as a God by them on account of his predictions. Olearius refers us to the observations of Menage on the Lives of Laertius, for the confirmation of this delivery from the plague.

‡ To this Mr. Gerard Hamilton alludes in his *Ode to Sleep*—Printed for Mr. Payne. 1808.

With longing taste, with eager lip,

In raptured visions oft I sip

The honeys of the tragic bee; **

Whose strains could every tempest quell,

Could every noxious blast dispel,

And still the hollow roaring of the sea, &c.

§ Laertius relates, that when the Etesian winds were very violent at Agrigentum, so as to destroy the fruits of the earth, Empedocles ordered some asses to be flayed, and that having made bottles of their skins, they were placed at the tops of the hills for stopping the winds. What can be thought of a speech illustrated by so silly an allusion.

** Sophocles.

delivered the Ephesians from a plague, but for having foretold that it would attack them. This foreknowledge he thinks is more than human, and partakes of the marvellous: and he is of opinion I could never have arrived at its discovery without being either a magician or one of the wicked. What will Socrates say here, to defend what he said he had from his Demon? What will Thales and Anaxagoras say, of whom the one predicted a great plenty of olives,* and the other,† a variety of celestial phenomena? Was it the magic art they made use of to utter these predictions? They were brought before tribunals for very different reasons, and amongst all the articles alledged against them, it was never once insinuated they were magicians for having foretold what was to happen. A charge of this nature would have appeared ridiculous, and one which it was not probable would have been brought against wise men in Thessaly, where old women are under the evil report of drawing down the moon‡ from heaven. You will ask, perhaps, how have I foreseen the extraordinary phenomenon which happened at Ephesus? You heard my accuser speak to that point, he said himself, I did not live after the manner of other men, which was noticed by me in the exordium of my speech, when I allowed I used a particular kind of food that was most frugal, and more agreeable to me than the nicest delicacies of Sybaris. This is the kind of living which acts in the place of an occult cause, and keeps my senses unimpaired, without suffering any thing to obscure

* Thales predicted a plenty of olives, *antequam florere cœpissent*, says Cicero.

† For the predictions of Anaxagoras, see b. i. c. 2.

‡ *Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam.*

VIRGIL.

The Thessalians were thought to be possessed of this art, more than any other people.

The sorceress in Theocritus frequently calls on the moon to tell her whence her passion came.

them; this, in fine, is the cause of my seeing, as it were, in the speculum of a mirror, all that is, and is to be. A wise man will not wait till the earth sends forth vapor, or the atmosphere is infected, if evil comes from above; but he will perceive such things are at hand, not so soon as the Gods, yet sooner than the generality of men. The Gods see what is to come, men what is come, and wise men what is coming. As to what respects the causes of the plague, inquire of me, O Emperor! in private, for they are too deep to be divulged. The way in which I live is the only thing which gives that subtilty to the senses, or more properly speaking, that energy which is fit for producing great and wonderful effects. The truth of what I say may be collected from many things, but particularly from what occurred at Ephesus, during the time of the plague. The form the malady assumed, was that of an old beggar-man.* I saw him, and as soon as I saw him, I apprehended him: not abating the distemper, but extirpating it. The statue erected by me at Ephesus to Hercules Avernuncus, is a proof whose assistance I implored on the occasion. To him I offered up my prayers, whose wisdom and courage of old delivered Elis from a plague, at the time he turned the course of a river into that province, which swept away all its pestilential vapors, in the reign of King Augeas. Will any man, O Emperor! who wishes to pass for a magician, ascribe to a God what he has performed himself? Will any man admire his craft, if he gives to a God the merit of all that is marvellous? or did you ever hear of a magician calling on Hercules for assistance? Such things magicians ascribe

* Had Apollonius been suffered to make this defence, what must Domitian and the court have thought of his representing the plague as an old beggar-man.

Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum. HORACE.

to the digging of trenches and the infernal Gods, with whom Hercules has no place on account of the purity of his life, and his benevolence to men. Corinth was once infested with the appearance of a Lamia, who supported herself by devouring beautiful boys. In combating with her, Hercules lent me his assistance, and what did he ask as a reward for this service? only a few cakes made of honey, a little frankincense, and the pleasure of doing good to mortals. This is the recompense he looked to, for all the labors which he accomplished by the orders of Eurystheus. Take it not ill, O Emperor! that I speak to you of the labours of Hercules: he was under the immediate protection of Minerva, because he was good and useful to mankind.

10. But seeing you wish me to speak on the subject of the sacrifice, which I suppose is signified by the motion of your hand, listen to what is the ingenuous truth. Though anxious to do all I can for the good of mortals, I never sacrificed for them, nor mean to do it. I wish to have nothing to do with sacrifices where blood is shed, or to offer up my vows with the sacrificing knife in view, or with any thing which you call a sacrifice. I am no Scythian, O Emperor! nor one sprung from an inhospitable soil. Far from adopting the religious ceremonies of the Massagetæ or Tauri, I have caused them to cease from their usual bloody sacrifices, and blamed their folly in many discourses had with them on the subject of divination, and in what it may be considered as efficient, and in what not. Can I, therefore, (who know better than any other, that the Gods declare their will to men who are wise and pure, though they do not aim at the gift of divination) stain my hands in blood, and touch the entrails of victims, the bare mention of which is forbidden, and excites horror: and by such a defilement thereby forfeit the gift of divination? But setting aside the horror I feel

at such sacrifices, I think, if my accuser was desired to reflect on what he has said, he will acquit me himself. He has said I foretold the plague at Ephesus, without having recourse to any sacrifice, and if he did say so, why does he suppose it necessary for me now to offer bloody sacrifices to foretel what might have been foretold without them? Or why suppose I stood in want of the gift of divination, concerning events of which I and others were fully persuaded. If I am called on to answer for Nerva and his friends, I shall only repeat what I said before, when accused by you. I look on Nerva as fit for the discharge of any office, and worthy of all praise; but ill calculated for the execution of any enterprise. His body is enfeebled with disease, which has so affected his mind, as to leave him scarcely equal to the management of his domestic concerns. He* commends the vigor of your body and mind, wherein he is right, for men are ever prone to praise in others what they are incapable of doing themselves. In his intercourse with me, his modesty is remarkable, for I never saw him laugh or indulge in a jest in my company, as he is accustomed to do in that of his friends, but like boys in the presence of their parents or preceptors, he utters, with a kind of blushing timidity, whatever he has to say.† Sensible of the value I set upon modesty, he is so particular in making a show of it before me, as to appear more

* Domitian's person was graceful, and in his youth was completely such, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward.

SUETONIUS.

† Nerva is commended by all the ancients, as a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people. He seems to have been naturally timorous. Apollonius was the first, if Philostratus is to be credited, who solicited him to assume the sovereignty, or at least to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Domitian.

humble than what he ought, or is becoming. Who* can think that Nerva would aim at sovereign power, who is well content with the government of his own family? Or that he should confer with me on subjects of the greatest moment, who has not courage to talk to me on the most trifling? or communicate matters to me, which he ought not to breathe to any mortal living, if he took my advice? or how could I ever expect to pass for a wise man, if I was to rest my credit on the art of divination, without once listening to the dictates of prudence? Orfitus and Rufus are men of integrity and moderation, and peaceable, as far as I know them. When it is said they are suspected of aspiring to the empire, I know not whether the mistake is not as great with respect to them, as it is with respect to Nerva, or if it is more probable, Nerva wishes to mount the throne under the direction and guidance of such advisers, or that these advisers have inspired him with such an idea.

11. But he who summoned me to trial, should have considered how, or in what way I could have given assistance to innovators in the empire. My prosecutor does not say I have received money from them, or have been bribed to join their party. But it may be said I had great claims on them, and on that account put off the day of retribution to that in which it might be supposed they would be masters of the government, when I might have demanded much, and obtained more. But how can this be proved? Call to mind, O Emperor! yourself and your predecessors, I mean your brother† and your father,‡ and likewise Nero, whilst they governed the empire. Under

* The evasive mode of reasoning adopted here by Apollonius, is not perfectly suitable to the openness and candour of a great philosopher.

† Titus.

‡ Vespasian.

them I lived in some degree of celebrity, even before my journey to India. During the space of eight and thirty years,* which is the time elapsed since, I never frequented the doors of Emperors, (save those of your father in Egypt, but he was not as yet Emperor, and he confessed it was on my account he came) nor ever condescended to any thing humiliating in complimenting Kings, or even people for the sake of Kings. I never boasted of the letters written me by Kings, nor of those I wrote to them; nor did I ever once deviate from the respect due to myself, by a mean flattery of Kings for what they had to bestow. If you ask me, after due consideration had of the condition of poor and rich, amongst whom I enrol myself, I will say amongst the very rich. For I consider the virtue of wanting nothing equal to the possession of the riches of Lydia and Pactolus. How could I expect that men not in possession of power, should make presents to me when they were, who never accepted any thing from you, or those who were in full enjoyment of it? or how could any body suppose I should have been dreaming of changes in government to enrich myself, who never once made use of the people in power to do it? And yet what may be acquired by a philosopher paying his court to the great, is evident from the history of Euphrates. From what, I pray you, does he draw his wealth? There are springs from whence his wealth flows; at this time he holds his philosophical disputations at the tables of the money-changers, where he appears in the several characters of a merchant, a retailer, a publican, and an usurer, in short, where he appears all things to all, a seller, and yet to be sold. He is more nailed to the doors of the great, and spends more time in dangling

* We have so few documents to ascertain the different eras in the life of Apollonius, that I think it useless to enter into the discussion, particularly as both the year of his birth, and that of his death, are equally unknown.

after them, than their porters. He is often found shut up in their houses like one of their hungry dogs. No philosopher ever contrives to get a farthing from him; he hoards up his riches, and with what he can extort, and squeeze from others, he feeds this Egyptian, and sharpens a tongue against me, which if it had its desert, ought to be cut out of his head.

12. But to you, O Emperor! I resign Euphrates; if you are not very much enamoured of flatterers, you will find him worse than I have described him. Listen, I pray thee, to what remains of my defence. And what is it, and upon what subject? My accuser has told you a melancholy tale of my cutting an Arcadian boy in pieces, and though he has told you, I know not yet whether he says it happened by night or in a dream. This boy, he adds, was of a good family, and as handsome as Arcadians generally are, whose good looks are not affected by the meanness of their attire. This youth I am accused of killing whilst in the act of supplicating me with tears, and at the time, when my hands were stained with his blood, of having implored the Gods to reveal the truth of what was to come to pass. Thus far the accusation comes home to myself; what follows concerns the Gods, for it is added, they heard my prayers, displayed favourable signs in the entrails, and put not to death the impious sacrificer. Why is it necessary for me, O Emperor! to speak of that which cannot be heard without a crime? As to what respects this part of my defence concerning the Arcadian, let us inquire who he is? For if he was not of an obscure family, and of no inelegant appearance, surely it is time to ask the name of his parents and family; and in what town of Arcadia he was educated, and from what penates he was dragged here to be sacrificed? For notwithstanding my accuser's ingenuity in the art of lying, he has no evidence on which to found these things. Granted—let us then suppose the boy a slave, for whom this up-

roar is made, for what else can he be who has no name, nor parentage, nor city, nor inheritance. And if all this is so, we may fairly ask who sold him? and who was the purchaser? for if an Arcadian's entrails are the fittest for illustrating the power of divination, it is probable the boy must have cost much, and that a special messenger was dispatched to Peloponnesus to bring him to Rome. Here there is no difficulty in buying Pontic, or Lydian, or Phrygian slaves, of whom you may sometimes meet whole droves on their way to Rome. The countries from whence these slaves come, and the other barbarous ones who have always been under the rule of foreign masters, do not consider slavery as disgraceful. Nothing is commoner in Phrygia than parents selling their children, and if once made slaves, never thinking of their ransom. But the Greeks are still fond of liberty, and not one of them will sell a slave to be carried out of the country. Hence it is that Greece is not visited either by slave-stealers, or slave merchants; but of all parts of it, Arcadia is the least subject to this traffic, both on account of its inhabitants loving liberty better than the other Greeks, and of their requiring a greater number of slaves for their own use. Arcadia is a country spacious, abounding in plants and herbs, with lands, of which some are open and flat, and some mountainous. The cultivation and management of these grounds require many hands to till them, together with many persons to take care of their goats, and swine, and sheep, and oxen, and horses. It requires also many wood-cutters, and in this kind of labour, the inhabitants are employed from their youth. But supposing the Arcadians not such as here described, and suppose they sold their slaves, like other people, what advantage could this famous art derive from its having an Arcadian sacrifice made in preference to any other? The Arcadians do not so much exceed the other Greeks in wisdom, as to make us perceive any thing in their entrails different from what

is to be seen in those of others. They are the simplest of all people in their manners, and in some circumstances, as well as in that of eating acorns, resemble their swine. In painting the manners of the Arcadians, and digressing into Peloponnesus, I have, I fear, pleaded my cause more after the manner of a rhetorician than what I ought. What then is the defence I should have made, as most becoming my character? It is the following:—"I have shed no blood in sacrificing; I shed no blood, I touch no blood, nor any altar sprinkled with it." This is what Pythagoras and his disciples, the Gymnosophists in Egypt, and the wise men in India, have commanded and ordained. They who perform their religious duty pursuant to their institutions, do nothing displeasing to the Gods; they grow old by the means of moderate indulgence, and keep their bodies and minds in sound health, and free from disease. They encrease in wisdom, are less dependant than others, and want for nothing. I think it not absurd to pray to the Gods, who are good, by making them pure offerings, and I think the Gods themselves have been of the same opinion, as appears from their having placed the frankincense-bearing country * in the purest region of the world, from whence men might get wherewithal to offer to them, without being obliged to fly to the sacrificing knife, and the shedding of blood. And yet it is supposed, that I, without any respect had for the Gods and myself, have sacrificed in a way not familiar to me, and in which I wish not to be followed by any mortal.

13. But the time marked by my accuser, will acquit me. For if the day on which he says I committed the crime, I was in the country, I will confess having offered the sacrifice; and if I do that, I will not deny the having

* *Arabia thurifera*, called also, *odorifera*, *dives* and *beata*.

shared in eating it. And yet you, O Emperor! continue to repeat the question, whether I was not at that time in Rome? a thing not denied. You were there likewise, most excellent Prince, and I am sure, will not allow of having offered such a sacrifice. My accuser himself was also there, and will never own to the having committed murder. Multitudes of other people were there as well as we, whom you would treat with more lenity by sending at once into banishment, than by exposing them to accusations, in which their being at Rome might be brought forward as an argument of their guilt. On the other hand, I think the very circumstance of a man's coming to Rome, is a proof of innocence, and of his not being concerned in rebellion. For unless a man had an inclination to leave this world, he would never meddle with innovation in a city, where all eyes and ears are open to see and hear, both what is done, and what is not; and where all moderate and prudent men learn to walk heedful, in the most plain and direct paths.

14. What then, O accuser! did I do that night? if you were to question me as if I was yourself, since you are come to interrogatives, I would tell you, I was laying indictments against the worthy, and snares for the ruin of the innocent, and instilling lies into the mind of the Emperor, for the purpose of honouring myself, and dishonouring him. If you were to ask me as a philosopher what I was doing, I would say, I was commending the laughter of Democritus which he used in deriding all human things. But if you were to ask myself what I was doing—here is my answer, Philiscus of Melos who studied philosophy with me for four years, was then very sick in his bed, and on that night I sat by him till he died. Then it was that I wished to possess such magic charms as could have saved his life, and to know if Orpheus had any verses by which the dead are restored to this world. Had it

been permitted, I should have gone to the infernal regions on his account, so endeared was he to me, both as a friend of congenial sentiments, and a philosopher of my way of thinking. Of the truth of what I say, O Emperor! Telsinus, the consul, will inform you, who passed the same night I did with Philiscus in the most friendly attentions. And if any doubt is entertained of his testimony, from being numbered with the philosophers, I appeal to that of the physicians who attended him, Seleucus of Cyzicus, and Stratocles of Sidon, from whom you may learn whether what I say is true or not. Besides, Philiscus himself had above thirty disciples who can all testify the same. I would wish to call in the relations of Philiscus, but if I expressed this wish, you might think I was inclined to put off judgment, as they have all left Rome, for Melos, to pay the last sad duties to the deceased. Come into court, ye other witnesses who are cited, and are permitted to appear. (Here follows, it may be supposed, the depositions of such witnesses as were examined). The depositions you have just heard, prove clearly how very consistent with truth the libel was laid, for it appears from them I was not in the suburbs, but in the city; not outside the walls, but within them; not with Nerva, but with Philiscus; not offering bloody sacrifices, but prayers for the recovery of my friend's health; not occupied in the business of the state, but in that of philosophy; not planning insurrection against you, but intent on saving the life of a man like myself.

15. What then becomes of the story of the Arcadian boy? what of the story of the victims, and the credit which has been given them? For supposing what is false to be adduced in a court of justice, instead of that which is true; in what way, I pray thee, O Emperor! should the absurdity of such a sacrifice be treated? In old times there were soothsayers, whose business was to inspect the exta of beasts; men versed in the art, and of

great celebrity, of whom Megistias,* the Acarnanian, Aristander† the Lycian, and Silanus‡ the Ambracian, were the chief. The first was soothsayer to Leonidas, the King of Sparta; the second to Alexander of Macedon; and Silanus, the third, to Cyrus, at the time he was aspiring to the throne of his brother. If any thing had been discovered by these men in the exta of human victims, more luminous, more profound, or more explicit than in those of others, they would have had neither scruples nor difficulty in procuring them; for the Kings by whom they were employed had plenty of cupbearers and slaves at their disposal; and they were men themselves of such character as would not have declined making use of human victims, through any fears either of danger or prosecution. But I take for granted the same sentiments occurred to them, as do to me, who stand here arraigned for my life for similar offences; they thought that probably the exta of animals that lose their lives without having any pre-science of death, or sense of what they are about to suffer, undergo no change whatever. But who will believe that a man who has ever some fear of death, though not immediate, can, whilst the apprehension of death is present, and as it were before his eyes, give any intimation of futurity by his exta, and be a proper subject for a sacrifice? To be convinced that my conjectures are right, and consonant to the truth, I think, O Emperor! you should consider the matter in the following light. The liver, which the most skilful soothsayers affirm to be the tripod of divination, consists not of pure blood, for it is

* Megistias, a soothsayer, who told the Spartans that defended Thermopylæ, that they should all perish. HERODOTUS.

† Aristander, a celebrated soothsayer, greatly esteemed by Alexander. It is said Alexander relied much on his veracity. PLINY.

‡ Silanus, an augur in the army of the ten thousand Greeks, at their return from Cynaxa. See Xenophon's Anabasis.

the heart which retains and circulates, by the veins, the pure blood through the whole body. The gall which is contained in the liver, is put into motion by anger, and is confined by fear within the cavities of the liver. So that the gall, whenever it becomes to effervesce in men of warm passions, and is not able to be kept within its own proper vessels, diffuses into the liver, by which it occupies the whole left region of the entrails, wherein is seated the foundation of the art of divination. When a man is under the influence of fear, his liver contracts and darkens the light in the left region. For then the purer part of the blood withdrawing itself, by means of which the liver is distended like the spleen, and sinking by a natural motion into the membrane inclosing the heart, swims upon the gross matter. Whence then, O Emperor! the necessity of human sacrifices, if they give no signs of futurity to be depended on? But man's own nature is the true cause of its not giving such signs, he himself being under the fear of death. Brave men die with anger, cowards with fear. Hence this art of divination, with people not wholly savage, approves of the sacrificing of kids and lambs, because of their being harmless, and not differing from creatures entirely devoid of sense. But cocks, and swine, and bulls, as being of a more generous nature, it considers unfit to be used in their secret rites. I see, O Emperor! that my adversary is not pleased with my making you a more enlightened hearer than himself, nor with the attention you seem to pay to my defence. If in any point I have explained myself in a way not so satisfactory as what I ought, I beg you may interrogate me respecting it.

16. I have said what was necessary as an answer to the libel of the Egyptian. But since the calumnies of Euphrates are not to be passed over in silence, you will judge, O Emperor! which of us two philosophizes best. His object is to say every thing false of me, and mine not to follow his example. He fears you, as a slave fears his master, and I respect you as a subject should his sovereign.

He puts a sword into your hand against me, but I do not arm you against him. He makes my conversations in Ionia the grounds of his charge against me, which he says were uttered with an evil mind? and yet all I said there regarded nothing but fate and necessity. To illustrate my discourse by examples, I sought in the history of princes for such as were appropriate, because, in human affairs, your rank, O Emperor! is most conspicuous. I reasoned on the force of fate, and said, its decrees are so unchangeable, that if they decreed a kingdom to one man, which, at the time of making the decree was possessed by another, and that, if the reigning prince was even to put to death his appointed successor to prevent his succeeding to the throne, I said the dead man would return to life to satisfy the decrees of fate. Men, you know, are sometimes accustomed to talk in figures and hyperboles to those who will not believe them when they talk in reason and moderation. It is as if I was to speak in the following language, He whom the Fates destine to be a carpenter, will be one though his hands were cut off. He whom they appoint to win at the Olympic Games, will win even if his legs were broken: and he whom they have decreed to hit his mark, will do it though his eyes were put out. My examples which I adduced, were taken from the history of Kings, and those I had in view, were Acrisius,* Laius,† and Astyages the Mede, and many others who thought they had taken the best precautions to secure themselves in their kingdoms. Of these princes, some by putting to death their sons, and others their grandsons, thought to give themselves security; and yet they were all bereft of their kingdoms by those sons and grandsons, who rose out of darkness by the predominant power of fate. If I was inclined to flatter, O Emperor! I would say that your situa-

* Acrisius, the father of Danaë, whose story is well known.

† Laius, the father of Œdipus, and Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, whose stories are equally well known.

tion* occurred strongly to me when you were besieged in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt. Vitellius supposed every thing would go well with him, could he have prevented your escape from the capitol, though at that time you were young, and far from what you are at present. But as the Fates decreed otherwise, he perished in the midst of his projects, and you now possess his throne. However, as the song of flattery is unpleasing to my ears, from its want of due cadence and melody, I must break its string. Do not believe my thoughts have been engrossed by your affairs; I have spoken only of the Fates and Necessity, which is what my accuser has alledged against me. As to the doctrine of Necessity, most of the Gods themselves do not object to it, and even Jupiter is not displeased at hearing it mentioned by the poets, who, when speaking of the affairs of Lycia, make him say,

“The hour draws on, the destinies ordain,

“My godlike son shall press the Phrygian plain.”

Nor is he angry with the Fates, when they deprive him of that son. And in other places, the poets, when speaking of the abode of departed spirits, tell us that Jupiter appointed Minos,† Sarpedon's brother, whom he could not

* Domitian on the first eruption of the besiegers, was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple, and there protected till one of his freedmen had the address to conduct him to a place called the Velabrum, where he lodged him safe, under the care of a man firmly attached to Vespasian.

TACITUS, Hist. iii. c. 74.

† High on a throne, tremendous to behold,
Stern Minos waves a mace of burnish'd gold;
Around ten thousand thousand spectres stand
Thro' the wide dome of Dis, a trembling band.
Still as they plead, the fatal lots he rolls,
Absolves the just, and dooms the guilty souls.

Odyssey, b. xi. l. 567. POPE.

exempt from the laws of destiny, judge in the court of Pluto, and honored him with a golden sceptre. Why then, O Emperor ! are you displeased with this doctrine? a doctrine tolerated by the Gods themselves, whose condition is unchangeable, and who punish not with death the poets on account of it. We must obey the destinies, we must not repine at the changes and chances of this life, and must give credit to Sophocles, who says, "The Gods alone are exempt from old age and death," and, "Time in the end is victorious over all things," and in this, he expresses himself better than was ever done by mortal. The fortune of men is variable, and their happiness only endureth for that of a day.* Neither he who has my estate, nor the man who has the estate of him who possesses mine, can be considered as the real possessors. Taking this into consideration, put a stop, O Emperor ! I beseech you, to all banishments and shedding of blood. Use philosophy in every thing you like, for true philosophy frees the mind from trouble. Wipe the tears from the eyes of men, whose multiplied groans resound from the sea, and yet more from the land, all and every one lamenting what they held most dear. The evils resulting from hence are more in number than can be counted, evils all to be ascribed to the tongues of informers, who make every thing odious to you, and you, O Emperor ! odious to every one.†

* Hence to your fields, ye rustics ; hence away,
Nor stain with grief the pleasures of a day.

Od. b. xxi. l. 85. POPE.

† The observation of Tillemont on this long and laboured defence of Apollonius, is just, and much to the purpose : Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities ; nevertheless, as he observes, he composed a very long apology for himself, with a design to deliver it to Domitian : but his pretended prophetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he was at in composing it would be useless.

CHAP. VIII.

I HAVE given the speech Apollonius prepared for his defence. At the close of his first speech before Domitian, I found these words of Homer, "Not thy deadly spear can slay me, because I am not mortal," to which were added the ones preceding, on which they depended. After Apollonius departed from the tribunal,* the Emperor behaved like one under a divine influence, and in a way not easy to be explained, because it was totally different from the general expectation of those who were best acquainted with the tyrant. It was supposed he would have burst out into violent exclamations, and have issued orders through all parts of the empire, for discovering and prosecuting him wherever found.—It was the very reverse; it seemed as if he intended to disappoint all mens' expectations, by the conduct he adopted. Whether it was, that he had not sufficient power against the man, or that he held him in contempt, may be conjectured from what is to follow. I think it will appear that he was an object more to excite wonder with Domitian, than contempt.

CHAP. IX.

THE Emperor heard another cause the same day with that of Apollonius. One of his cities had a matter of

* ἀπηλθε—In chapter 5—Philostratus says, that Apollonius vanished away out of the Emperor's presence before a great number of people: "But here reason bids me observe, that although it is reported to have been done in the presence of a great number of people, yet I have but the testimony of one man for the truth of it, and that man not a contemporary."

dispute with a certain citizen on the subject of a will, as I remember. During the hearing of this cause, Domitian forgot not only the names of the parties, but the arguments used in the case. His questions were unmeaning, and his answers totally irrelevant to the cause; all which argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity under which he laboured, so much so that his flatterers made him believe that nothing escaped his recollection.

CHAP. X.

LEAVING the tyrant in this state of mind, and shewing that he, who was the terror of Greek and barbarian, was but a play-thing in the hands of philosophy,* Apollonius vanished from the tribunal before mid-day, and in the evening of the same, appeared to Demetrius and Damis at Puteoli.† This accounts for his having desired Damis to go there without waiting for his defence. He had given Damis, however, no previous notice of his intentions, but only told him, who was so very useful to him, to do what best accorded with his plans.

CHAP. XI.

DAMIS had arrived at Puteoli the day before, and had informed Demetrius of all that took place previous to the

* *παίγνιον ἄνθρωπος Θεῶν* is a sentiment of Plato's.

† Which was above three days' journey from Rome: the dispatch with which he made this journey was not exceeded by his great prototype Pythagoras, who was on the same day present, and discoursed in public, at Metapontum in Italy—and at Tauromenium in Sicily. If it could be proved he had found the flying arrow of Abaris, there would have been no difficulty on the occasion. This journey has been noticed before, of Pythagoras from Metapontum to Tauromenium. B. iv. c. 10.

hearing judgment. This account filled Demetrius with fears, and made him more uneasy about the fate of Apollonius, than what was becoming one of his hearers. He questioned Damis the following day of all that passed, whilst they were musing and walking together on the sea shore celebrated by the story of Calypso. They had little or no hopes of ever seeing him again, from the knowledge they had of the tyrant's cruelty, being felt among all descriptions of people. And yet out of respect for his character, they wished to obey his commands. Tired at length with their walk, they sat down in a Nymphæum,* wherein was a cistern of white marble, containing a living spring of water which never rose above its margin, nor lessened by being drawn from. They talked of the nature of this water with less interest than usual, on account of the sorrow which filled their hearts, and then turned the conversation to what had happened before the trial.

CHAP. XII.

HERE Damis's grief breaking out afresh, he cried, O ye Gods! are we never to see more our good and virtuous friend? When Apollonius, who had already arrived at the Nymphæum, heard this, he said, you shall see him, or rather you have seen him. What, alive? cried Demetrius, for if dead we shall never have done lamenting him. Hereupon Apollonius stretching out his hand, said, take it, and if I escape you, regard me as an apparition just arrived from the kingdom of Proserpine, of the same

* Nymphæa, were buildings adorned with statues of the nymphs, and abounding, as it is thought, with fountains, and waterfalls, which afforded an agreeable and refreshing coolness, borrowed from the Greeks.

Adam's Rom. Antiquities.

kind with those which the terrestrial Gods present to the eyes of afflicted mortals. But if I bear being touched, I wish you would persuade Damis to think I am alive, and have not yet laid aside the body. Doubting no longer the truth of what he said, they rose, and ran to the man and kissed him. Afterwards they asked him if he had made a defence. Demetrius thought he had made none, from knowing that he must die, though innocent. Damis thought he had made a defence, but sooner than was supposed: for he never supposed it was that day. Apollonius says, my friends, I have made my defence, and we are victorious; I made it a few hours ago,* whilst the day was verging to noon. How, said Demetrius, have you performed † so long a journey in so short a time? Think of it, as you please, answered Apollonius, but think not I made use either of the ram of Phryxus, or the wings of Dedalus; ascribe it to a God. I am clearly of opinion, says Demetrius, that a God is interested in all you do and say, under whose direction it is your affairs prosper. But tell me, I pray you, the defence you made, and what were the several articles of accusation laid against you: tell me the character of your judge, with the questions asked, and the objections urged for and against, that I may relate every thing to Telesinus, who never ceases making inquiries. It is now fifteen days since Telesinus was with me at Antium, and when we were sitting at supper, he leant on the table and fell asleep. Whilst the cup ‡ of good Genius was carrying round, he

* Of the truth of this fact we have no testimony except his own *ipse dixit*—and the *ipse dixit* of no man ever did, or can establish the truth of a miracle.

† Performed as Pythagoras' journey was from Metapontum to Tauromenium, as I have observed before in speaking of his journey from Smyrna to Ephesus.

‡ The first cup was that of Jupiter the Saviour, the second that of good Genius, and the third that of Mercury.

had a dream in which he thought he saw a fire running along the ground, overwhelming every thing in its way; he thought he saw it sweeping away like a torrent all who even attempted to fly from it, whilst you alone suffered not with the rest, but passed safely through it as it divided on either side. After this dream Telesinus offered libations to the Deities presiding over propitious dreams, and bid me keep up my spirits, and hope the best. Telesinus thinking of me in his dream, said Apollonius, does not surprise me; for I know he has long thought of me when awake. I will withhold nothing from you that passed at the trial, but I will not tell it here. Mid-day is past, and it is time to return to the city. Talking on the way is pleasant,* as it stands in the place of company. Let us therefore set out, and as we proceed, talk of what you wish to know. You shall hear every thing that passed in court to day. You both know what took place before the trial; you, Damis, from being present, and you, Demetrius, from having heard it not only once, but many times, if I am not mistaken. I shall therefore relate what you do not yet know, beginning with some things that happened before the hearing, and with what related to my appearing naked. He then reported his speech, without forgetting the line of Homer beginning with "Thou shalt not kill me," and the identical way in which he took his departure from the tribunal.

CHAP. XIII.

WHEN he had ended, Demetrius cried out, I thought you out of danger, and it is only the commencement of it. Domitian will proscribe you, and reduce you to the dilemma

* ———varioque viam sermone levabat.—VIRG.

of not knowing where to turn for safety. But Apollonius bidding his fears to cease, says, I wish to God it was not more easy for him to take you, than it is to take me. I know how he is situated at this moment. He who has ever been accustomed to hear nothing but flattery, has of late heard something of a very different nature. This is what breaks and irritates the tempers of tyrants. But I have need of rest, having enjoyed none since I first engaged in this contest. Then Damis turning to Demetrius, said, the opinion I had of this man's situation was such, that I endeavoured what I could to divert him from the way he took. You also advised him not to expose himself to so great danger. But after he was cast into prison, where he lay bound with chains, as I thought, and when I supposed his situation most critical, he assured me he was at perfect liberty, and without a word more, shewed me his leg free from the bonds. Then it was, indeed, I began to understand what sort of a man he was; that there was something divine about him, and much superior to our wisdom. This is the reason why I did not fear, under his auspices, to expose myself to greater risk than I ought, and even to the loss of life. But since the evening is at hand, let us retire to a tavern, and take care of him. When Apollonius heard this, he said, I require nothing but sleep;* for as to every thing else, it is a matter of indifference whether I get them or not. Afterwards paying his vows to Apollo and the Sun,* he entered the house where Demetrius lodged, and washing his feet, he gave orders to Damis and his companions to take some refreshment, which they seemed in want of, and then threw himself on the bed. Instead of an hymn to

* Il avoue, says Du Pin, qu'il avoit bien besoin de repos, parceque depuis qu'il estoit sorti du Pretoire, il ne s'etoit point reposè. Si c'etoit par une vertu divine qu' Apollone eût été transporté, le Dieu qui lui avoit fait faire tant de chemin en si peu de temps, eût dû aussi le préserver de cette grande lassitude.

sleep, he repeated some verses of Homer,* and went to rest, as if the present state of his circumstances required no manner of solicitude whatever.

CHAP. XIV.

EARLY in the morning Demetrius, (whose ears were already filled with the imaginary sounds of the horses and horsemen, dispatched by the tyrant in search of Apollonius) waited on him to know where he intended to stay, or what he intended to do. Apollonius said, wherever I am, or wherever I go, neither Domitian, nor any one else will follow me; I shall now sail into Greece. And do you suppose you will be safe there, said Demetrius? that country is most illustrious; do you think you will be able to elude the tyrant's grasp in a place of such notoriety, which you find so much difficulty in doing in a place of obscurity? To this Apollonius said, I want no place wherein to conceal myself, for if, as you think, the whole earth is the tyrant's, it is better to die in the sight of men, than live in secret. Saying this, he turned to Damis, and asked him if he knew of any vessel that was shortly to sail for Sicily? I do, said Damis, we are at the sea-side, the crier is at the door, and a ship ready to sail, which I collect from the shouting of the sailors, and the exertions they are making to weigh the anchor. Let us embark in this vessel, cried Apollonius, and sail to Sicily, and afterwards to Peloponnesus. I am satisfied, replied Damis, let us get on board. They then took leave of Demetrius, who was sorrowful at their going; they bid him keep up his spirits, and behave like a man who had his friends in-

* Iliad—14—v. 233.

Sleep over all, both Gods and men, supreme;
If ever thou hast heard, hear also now
My suit; I will be grateful evermore.

COWPER.

terest at his heart. With these words they set sail with a fair wind, and got over to the coast of Sicily.

CHAP. XV.

PASSING by Messana, they arrived on the third day at Tauromenium. From thence sailing to Syracuse, they got over to Peloponnesus by the beginning of Autumn. On the sixth day after crossing the bay, they came to the mouths of the Alpheus,* where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the seas of Adria and Sicily. Landing here, and thinking it would be worth their while to go to Olympia, they went there, and spent some time in the temple of Jupiter, without proceeding farther from it than the little town of Scillus.† A rumour, constant and repeated, run through Greece, that Apollonius was alive and at Olympia: at first little or no credit was given to the story; for humanly speaking, they could never suppose he would escape safe from the prison into which he had been thrown. Various rumours were spread concerning him; one was that he was burnt alive, another was that he was alive, but had his back stuck full of little hooks; some people said he was cast into a deep pit, and others that he was drowned in a well. But as soon as his arrival was fully ascertained, all Greece flocked to see him with more eagerness than they ever did to the Olympic Games. People came there from Elis, and Sparta, and from Corinth situate at the extremity of the Isthmus. Athe-

* The story of the river Alpheus passing under the sea without mingling itself with the salt water, and rising in Ortygia on the coast of Sicily, is well known.

† Scillus is a town near Olympia, rendered illustrious by being made the retreat of Xenophon, where he is said to have written most of his works. See Mitford's Hist. of Greece.

nians, though out of the precincts of Peloponnesus, were found among the people who flocked to the gates of Pisa; and the temple was visited by the principal Athenians and the youth who had come to Athens from all parts of the world. Some magicians were likewise there, together with many Beotians, and Argives, and others of some note from Phocis and Thessaly. Of these many had conversed with him before, who were all again anxious to acquire a new stock of knowledge, being satisfied they had heard a greater number of extraordinary things from him, than from any other person. There were others who had never known him, and who would have thought it a shame not to have heard him. They asked him how he had escaped from the hands of the tyrant? Apollonius, wishing to avoid all vain-boasting, said only, he pleaded his cause and came off safe. But as many who had just come from Italy, told what passed at the trial, the Greeks were so affected by the recital, that they proceeded almost to adoration, from an idea that he was a divine man, on account of his not exalting himself above others.

CHAP. XVI.

OF the young men who came from Athens, there was one who happened to say that the Goddess Minerva was extremely partial to the Emperor, which when Apollonius heard, he replied, take care, Sir, how you talk of such things at Olympia, and revile the Goddess in the presence of her father.* The youth without attending to what was said, indulged in a greater license of expression, and observed that the Goddess was right in so doing, because

* Jupiter.

the Emperor was sovereign of the city which bore her name. And does he also preside as sovereign, returned Apollonius, at the feasts of the Panathenea?*

He silenced the young man, in making him see by his first answer, that he had but a bad opinion of the Gods if he thought them favourable to tyrants; and by his second he shewed clearly that the Athenians would annul their decree passed in favour of Harmodius† and Aristogiton, whose statues had been erected by them in the forum for their patriotic conduct, if they should now freely grant to tyrants, and their deputies, the honours of presiding at this festival.

CHAP. XVII.

DAMIS seeing there was but little money for their journeying and expenses on the way, told Apollonius of it, who immediately replied, “I will remedy it to-morrow.” Next day entering the temple, he bid the priest give him a thousand drachmas out of the treasury of Jupiter, if he did not think such a sum would be displeasing to the God. The reply of the priest was, that it was a matter of little consequence to the God, who, he supposed, would rather be uneasy at his not taking more.

* Panathenea, an Athenian festival in honour of Minerva, the protectress of the city of Athens.

† The account of those two celebrated friends of liberty is well known.

Quis myrteâ ensem frondè reconditum

Cantabit? illum, civibus Harmodi

Dilecte servatis, tenebas:

Tu que fidelis Aristogiton.

Ad Libertatem carmen, by Sir W. Jones.

CHAP. XVIII.

A CERTAIN Thessalian, named Isagoras, in a conversation he had with Apollonius, was thus addressed, What do you think of the Panegyris?* said Apollonius. I think, returned Isagoras, it is, of all human things, the most charming, and the most acceptable to the Gods. But of what materials, said Apollonius, does it consist? the purport of my question is the same, as if I asked you of the materials of this statue, and you replied, it consisted of gold and ivory. What, said the Thessalian, can be the materials of a thing incorporeal? Things of many and various kinds, returned Apollonius. In the Panegyris are sacred places and holy rites, and stadia for running, and other scenic decorations; in it are men of different descriptions, some from the neighbourhood, others from remote countries, and some even from beyond the sea. Besides, it is probable that many arts and inventions go to form it, as well as true wisdom, and poetry, and civil disputations, and logical controversy, and the gymnastic and musical professions, as are practised by ancient custom at the Pythian Games. So then it seems, O Apollonius, said Isagoras, that the Panegyris is a thing not only corporeal, but composed of more noble materials than cities; inasmuch as it brings into one place whatever is most excellent and most valuable in the world. Shall we then, Isagoras, continued Apollonius, consider such places of general resort as the Panegyris, in the way people do walled cities

* The Olympic Games drew together all Greece, and hence obtained the name of *πανεγυρίς*—Panegyris.

Quintilian says, "Panegyrim a Græcis appellari scimus Nundinas, festas celebritatas, et conventus."

and ships? or must we form a different idea of them? Your idea is right, said Isagoras, and I think it will be proper to adopt it. And yet, in my opinion, returned Apollonius, it will appear incorrect to him who considers the Panegyris in the light I do. Ships seem to me to require the assistance of men, and men also to require the assistance of ships, and I do not think men would ever have thought of going to sea had there not been ships: in like manner it is that men give security to walls, and vice versa, walls give security to men. By parity of reasoning the Panegyris appears to me only a convention of men, and at the same time is a place where men necessarily assemble; the hand of man is required to build fortified places, and ships, and the same hand spoils those places whereof we are speaking, by depriving them of their natural beauty, for it is supposed that people meet in them on account of that very circumstance. It is true that gymnasia, and porticos, and fountains, and houses, are constructed by human industry, as well as cities and ships. But the Alpheus here, and the hippodrome and stadium, with the groves thereunto belonging, existed before men did. The river gave plenty of water for the use of drinking and bathing; the circus, a wide plain, wherein horses might run; and the stadium, a place for the athletæ to contend, not only in running, but in wrestling, as the length of the valley gives the length and limits of the stadium. From the groves the victors were supplied with garlands, and a shade under which to exercise themselves in the course. It is in this point of view Hercules considered the place, when, attracted by its natural beauty, he deemed it worthy of all the games which at this day are celebrated in it.*

* It is not easy to ascertain the tendency of the above dialogue on the Panegyris, nor to understand it.

CHAP. XIX.

APOLLONIUS staid forty days at Olympia engaged in disputes, in which he explained a variety of matters with great wisdom. After this, he said, I will for the time to come discourse with you, O Greeks! in your towns, in your assemblies, in your sacred processions, mysteries, sacrifices, and libations, for all these things require the advice and assistance of a good man. But at present I must go down into Lebadea, because I have not yet conversed with Trophonius, though I formerly visited his temple. Saying this, he set out for Arcadia, attended by all his real admirers, of whom not one remained behind. There is at Lebadea* a cave dedicated to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and only accessible to those who consult the oracle. The entrance to this cave is not in the temple, but at a little distance from it on a rising piece of ground, surrounded with a sort of balustrade, on which are placed obelisks of iron. The aperture is so narrow, that they who go down are hurried along in a sitting posture, dressed in white garments, carrying in their hands cakes made of honey to appease the reptiles that might assail them in descending. Of the votaries who consult the oracle, some are restored to the light near the entrance of the cavern, and others at a greater distance from it. Some make their appearance on the other side of Locris and Phocis, but most of them within the precincts of Beotia. When Apollonius entered the temple, he says, I have a mind to go down for the sake of philosophy: here the priests made an objection, and told the people they would never suffer a man who was an enchanter to examine the sacred cave;

* See a minute description of this cave in Pausanias.

and turning to Apollonius, put him in mind that it was only the wicked and impure who were to consult the oracle. After this he took his seat near the springs of Hercyne, and talked the remainder of the day of nothing but the rise of the oracle and the manner of consulting it, because, of all oracles it was the only one which gave its answers to the consulter himself, without their passing through any intermediate person. As soon as evening arrived, he went up to the mouth of the cave,* and plucking up four of the obelisks which surrounded the entrance of it, he descended, wrapped up in his cloak, as if prepared for a conference. The God was so pleased with his conduct, that he appeared in person to the priests, and severely chid them for their treatment of Apollonius, at the same time ordering them to go to Aulis, where he was to issue from the cavern in a most extraordinary manner. On the seventh day he made his appearance by a way untrodden by any who had ever before consulted the oracle, and brought with him a book fitted for answering all questions; for in going down he had asked Trophonius what philosophy he accounted the best and most pure. The little book he brought with him contained the opinions of Pythagoras, to which the oracle gave its full suffrage.

CHAP. XX.

THIS book is kept at Antium, which, on this account, is visited by the curious traveller. Antium is a maritime town of Italy, and the history I have given of the book

* The oracle of Trophonius was upon a mountain, within an inclosure made of white stones, upon which were erected obelisks of brass.—In this inclosure was a cave, of the figure of an oven, cut out by art. The mouth of it was narrow, and the descent to it was not by steps, but by a small ladder.

was taken from the inhabitants of Lebadea. As to the book itself, I will tell you all I know of it. It was carried to the Emperor Adrian along with some letters written by Apollonius, (for all did not reach him) and was left in his palace at Antium, which, by the way, he preferred to all his other palaces in Italy.*

CHAP. XXI.

ALL his followers, whom the Greeks named Apollonians, come to him out of Ionia, and with them, the young men of the parts adjacent, forming a company that, both for their numbers and philosophical zeal, were entitled to admiration. At this time the art of rhetoric lay neglected, and little or no attention was shewn its professors by the Apollonians, on account of its making only elocution its chief object. But people went in crowds to hear the philosophy of Apollonius; and as it is said, Gyges and Cressus opened the doors of their treasuries to all who wanted money, so did Apollonius impart his wisdom to all who came to make inquiry, by granting to all, and every one, permission to ask whatever questions they pleased.

CHAP. XXII.

WHEN some people reproached him for not suffering his followers to accept of magisterial offices, and for rather promoting idleness in them; and when by way of

* This is a proof of the fame Apollonius enjoyed after his death, that the Emperor Adrian collected his letters, and kept them in his palace at Antium, with a book written by him, containing answers from the oracle of Trophonius.

raillery one told him, that he drove away his flock whenever he saw the men of the law approach, he answered, I do it through fear of the wolves coming and attacking the fold. By these words he meant, that the people of the law were in great credit with the multitude, that by them they rose from poverty to riches, that their consequence was derived from the contests and divisions existing among mankind, from which they drew their support, and that it was on this account he wished to keep the young men out of their society. Those who lived in familiarity with them, he rebuked sharply, as if to clear them of so foul an aspersion. It is true he had an old grudge against the attorneys, and was angry with the profession, from seeing in the Roman prisons some suffering, and even perishing in their chains; all which he thought was to be ascribed rather to their wranglings and false eloquence, than to the cruelty of the tyrant.

CHAP. XXIII.

AT this time, when Apollonius philosophized in Greece, an extraordinary phenomenon* was seen in the heavens. There appeared a circle of the likeness of a rainbow surrounding the orb of the sun, and obscuring his rays. Every one understood a change of some kind or other was portended by it.† It was on occasion of this appear-

* Philostratus seems to have borrowed a phenomenon, (not mentioned by any other writer) from the 28th chapter of the second book of Pliny, and the explanation of the name from him who was to perpetrate the deed, which he intended should be prefigured by the appearance in the text.—Στεφανος—corona.—a circle.

† —Cernuntur & Stellæ cum sole totis diebus, plerumque et circa solis orbem, ceu spiceæ coronæ, et versicolores circuli, qualiter Augusto Cesare in prima Juventa Urbem intrante, post obitum patris, ad nomen ingens capessendum.

ance, that Apollonius was invited by the governor of Achaia to come from Athens into Beotia. As soon as he arrived, the governor told him he had heard of his knowledge in things divine. And have not you also heard, replied Apollonius, of my knowledge in things human? I have, returned the governor, and believe it. Since, said Apollonius, you grant me this knowledge, I advise you not to search too minutely into the will of the Gods; and this advice I give from what I know of things human. When the governor pressed him in flattering terms to say what he thought on the subject, as he was afraid of all things being involved in general darkness, Apollonius said, keep up your spirits, for some light will * arise out of this night.

CHAP. XXIV.

APOLLONIUS satisfied with having staid two years in Greece, during which he had not neglected the affairs of that country, sailed into Ionia with his whole company. He philosophized most part of his time whilst there, at Smyrna and Ephesus, without overlooking the other towns, of which there was not one wherein he was not well received; on the contrary, he was in all thought worthy of a reception the most flattering, on account of the advantage he was to every one who deserved his attention.

CHAP. XXV.

THE time was now at hand which the Gods decreed for depriving Domitian of the empire. He had lately put to

* He was wise in keeping clear of what he did not understand.

death Clemens,* a man of consular rank, to whom he had married his sister.† Three or four days after this murder, he had determined she should follow him. This is the reason why her freed-man, Stephanus,‡ marked out by the late phenomenon in the heavens, resolved, whether from regard § to the deceased, or love to mankind, to rid the world of a tyrant after the manner practised by the Athenians, who were such lovers of liberty. Fastening a dagger under his left arm, which was tied up in a bandage to make it look as if broken, he approached the tyrant as he was coming from the tribunal, and said, I wish to have a private conference with you, O Emperor! as I have matters of great moment to communicate. Not refusing an audience, he took Stephanus into his private closet, where, when they came, the freed-man said, Your mortal enemy Clemens is not dead as you think, but lives in a place I know, and is now preparing to attack you. At these words the Emperor uttered a loud shriek; Stephanus attacked him in this confusion, and drawing the dagger he had concealed under his arm, he gave him || a wound in the thigh, which though it did not instantly kill him, was mortal. Domitian, who was robust of body, and not more than forty years of age, turned upon Stephanus, wounded as he was, threw him on the floor, and himself over him, and then endeavoured to pull out his eyes, striking him on the face with a golden chalice,

* He put to death Clemens his cousin German, and his two sons, upon some very slight suspicion, by which violent act, says Suetonius, he very much hastened his own destruction.

† Flavia Domitilla the wife of Clemens, was not the sister of Domitian, but his niece, his sister's daughter.

‡ Stephanus—in Greek Στεφανος—corona, a circle.

§ Suetonius says, Stephanus was then under a prosecution for defrauding his mistress—he was a man of great strength, and well fitted for the enterprise.

|| Suetonius says he stabbed him in the groin—suffodit inguina.

that happened to be in the room for some sacrificial purpose, and at the same time calling on Pallas * for her assistance. His body-guards hearing the noise, and concluding all was not well, rushed into the closet, and finding the tyrant fainting, put an end to his life.

CHAP. XXVI.

ALL this happened at Rome, and all this Apollonius saw at Ephesus,† as if he had been present at the transaction, which took place about mid-day in the Emperor's palace, at the time when Apollonius was walking and disputing among the trees planted in one of the xystas, near the town. At first he let his voice fall, as if alarmed at something; he then went on conversing, but in a lower accent than usual, like persons whose thoughts are engaged with something different from what they are saying; at last he became quite silent, as if he had lost the thread of his discourse. Then fixing his eyes stedfastly on the earth, and advancing three or four steps, he cried out, "Strike the tyrant,"—"Strike—" this he did, not like one who guessed at what was passing from seeing its image in a mirror, but from literally seeing it, and as it were promoting it. All Ephesus was astonished at what they heard, (for every one was present at this disputation) but Apollonius stopping for some time, like those who wait the issue of a doubtful action, at length cried out, "Keep up your spirits, O Ephesians! for this day the tyrant is killed;‡ and why do I say this day? at this very

* His guardian Deity.

† What would Boswell say to this second sight?

‡ Philostratus, says Crevier in his Roman Emperors, asserts this positively as a fact, and Dion Cassius will not allow one to doubt it. We can

moment, whilst the words are in my mouth, I swear it by Minerva, the deed is done;" after this he became silent. The Ephesians thought him mad, who, though they devoutly wished he had spoken the truth, feared to run the risk of giving credit to it. For my part, said Apollonius, I am not surprised at your hesitating about a transaction not yet known in all parts of Rome. But hold, "it is now known," exclaimed he, "for it has run through the whole city. Thousands at this moment believe it, and are leaping with joy. Twice as many credit it, yes four times as many, and now all Rome. The news will soon be here. You will be right to suspend all sacrifices till the arrival of the messenger. For myself, I will go and pay my vows to the Gods for what I have seen with my eyes."*

can have no interest, adds he, to deny it, since it does not at all exceed the power of the Demons with whom Apollonius held a magic commerce. I shall only observe, continues Crevier, that Philostratus and Dion Cassius are two such credulous writers, that their testimony can be of little weight to counterbalance so great an absurdity as this, if it be called a miracle.

* In Xiphilius's abridgment of Dion Cassius, the same thing is mentioned in the following terms. That which appears to be more extraordinary than the rest, and which I reserved to mention in this place, is, that on the very day, nay, the moment Domitian was assassinated, as it was afterwards known upon a very exact search into the matter, Apollonius Tyaneus got up, whether it was in the city of Ephesus or elsewhere, upon a very high stone, and calling the people together, cried out with a loud voice, "Courage, Stephanus, courage, strike the murderer. Thou hast struck him. Thou hast wounded him. Thou hast killed him." As incredible as this fact seems to be, it is no less true. There might have been some accidental coincidence of circumstances which seemed to countenance this.

At all events it can only be credited upon the supposition, that the plot against the life of the Emperor had been concerted with him, and the day and hour fixed for perpetrating the same.

CHAP. XXVII.

FULL credit was not given to what Apollonius said, till the good news was brought by messengers, who confirmed by their testimony the wisdom of the philosopher. The death of the tyrant, with the day and hour in which it happened, and the murderers whom Apollonius encouraged, corresponded exactly with the account given by Apollonius whilst holding his disputations. Thirty days afterwards, Nerva sent him a letter, saying he possessed the empire by the councils of the Gods and Apollonius, which he thinks he would more easily maintain, if Apollonius would come to Rome, and assist him with his advice. The answer written by Apollonius appeared at the time enigmatical, which was, "we shall live together a very long time, in which we shall not command others, nor shall others command us ;"* by these words he wished to say that he was soon to leave this world, and that Nerva's reign was not to be long. In fact, his reign lasted but a year and four months, during which short space he established a character of the greatest moderation.

CHAP. XXVIII.

HOWEVER, not to appear unmindful of his excellent friend and sovereign, he wrote him a letter some short time after, in which he gave him advice as to the best mode of governing well. When finished, he sent for Damis, and said to him, the critical state of my affairs requires your assistance : the secrets contained in this epis-

* Intimating, probably, his expectation that they would soon live together in another world.

tle are addressed to the Emperor, and are of such a nature as can only be communicated by myself in person, or by you as an internuntio. Damis allows it was some time before he understood his artifice in this business. He says the letter was written in the best style, and contained matters of the greatest importance; but he adds, there was another reason for making use of him as a messenger to carry it. What then was the cause of his using a particular address on this occasion? During his whole life he used, it is said, to have these words frequently in his mouth, "Conceal your life, and if you cannot do that, conceal your death." To remove Damis from his presence, in order not to have any witnesses to his death, was the reason of his using the pretext of sending him to Rome with a letter. Damis speaks of the sorrow he had at parting with him, though then ignorant of what was to be the consequence. Apollonius, who knew it well, said not a word of what is generally done by people who are not to see each other again, so desirous was he of persuading Damis he would live for ever. All I find he said to him was, "Whenever you are alone, and give up your whole mind to philosophy, think of me."

CHAP. XXIX.

HERE ends the history of Apollonius the Tyanean, as written by Damis the Assyrian. Concerning the manner of his death, if he did die,* various are the accounts.

* If he did die—O Philostratus!

Here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras, who either give no account of his death, or say there are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said he died in the eightieth year of his age, others in the ninetieth, and some said he

Damis says not a word of it. But as I wish to have my history complete, I cannot pass it over in total silence: of his age Damis says nothing, but some say he was above fourscore, others above fourscore and ten, and there are some who say his age exceeded one hundred years.* His body carried with it the marks of old age, but his mind was vigorous and more agreeable than what even young people are in general. His wrinkles had something pleasing in them, which added a brilliancy to his looks,† which is still to be seen in his effigies in the temple built to him at Tyana; and what literary monuments still survive, speak more highly of his old age than they do of the youth of Alcibiades.

CHAP. XXX.

SOME say he died at Ephesus, waited on by two hand-maids,‡ (for his freed-men, whom we have before spoken of, had already paid the debt of nature) of whom, when he gave the one her liberty, he was upbraided by the other for not thinking her entitled to the same favour. The observation Apollonius made on the occasion was

he lived to be almost an hundred, others that he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age. LARDNER.

To the above may be added, that Apollonius often said he would die without any one's knowing it, to the end, it may be supposed, that he, as Empedocles, might be thought immortal.

* He died, it is supposed by some, at Ephesus, from the mere decay of nature, about the year 97, having nearly reached the great age of one hundred years.

† Philostratus never loses sight of Pythagoras, his hero's prototype, who was reckoned the handsomest man of the age in which he lived.

‡ A most indecorous death for a philosopher to die, between two young damsels.

this, It is meet the one should serve the other, as it will be the beginning of good fortune to her. After Apollonius's death, the one became the slave of the other, who sold her to a slave-merchant for but a small price; this merchant sold her, though she was not handsome, to another slave-merchant, who, being a man in good circumstances, fell in love with her, married her, and had by her sons, whom he acknowledged as his own. To return to Apollonius, some say he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus,* and there disappeared. Others affirm his exit was made at Crete in a more extraordinary way than it was at Lindus. During his stay in Crete, it is said, he possessed greater authority, and was more admired than he ever was before, and used to enter the temple of Dictynna,† at unseasonable hours of the night. This temple is under the protection of dogs, who take care of the riches laid up in it. These dogs are supposed by the Cretans to be of a breed not inferior to that of bears, or other wild beasts. Whenever Apollonius entered the temple, these dogs did not bark at him, but received him with as much fawning affection as they would have done their most familiar friends. The priests who had the care of the temple seeing this, seized him at his entrance, and bound him, as if he was not only a magician but a robber, saying he had given them a sop to tame them. About midnight he freed himself from his chains, and called those who had bound him in them, to shew he did nothing in secret, then running to the gates of the temple, he found them open. As soon as he entered

* Lindus, a city at the south east part of Rhodes, built by Circaphus, son of Sol and Cydippe. The Danaids built there a temple to Minerva, surnamed Lindia.

† Diana was worshipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dictynna and of Britomartis.

them, they shut of themselves as they had been before, and the temple resounded with the singing of many virgins, the burden of whose song was, "Leave the earth, come to heaven—come—come," which seemed as if they said, "Proceed from earth to heaven."*

CHAP. XXXI.

OF the immortality of the soul, Apollonius philosophized even after his death, teaching that the doctrine is true, but that all too curious investigations concerning things so important is to be avoided.† There happened to come

* Ces circonstances de la mort D'Apollone (says Du Pin) se contredisent, et elles ne sont toutes fondées de l'aveu même de Philostrate, que sur des bruits vagues et incertains, qui ne meritent aucune creance.

† But in the last place, says Bishop Parker, the historian would fain bid at something of his hero's appearing after death: yet he does it so faintly, that in the conclusion of all it comes to nothing, especially when he tells us, that the time of his death was altogether unknown, and that the uncertainty of it took in no less than the compass of thirty years. And then, they that were so utterly at a loss, as to the time of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very likely to give a very wise account of the certain time of any thing he did after it.

But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a young man, one of his followers, that doubted of the immortality of the soul for ten months together after his death. But how, or where? Why, the young man being tired with watching and praying to Apollonius that he would appear to him, only to satisfy him in this point, one day fell into a dead sleep in the school, where the young men were performing their several exercises: and on a sudden he starts up in a great fright and a great sweat, crying out, *πειθομαι σοι*, I believe thee—O Tyanean! And being asked by his companions the meaning of this transport: Why, says he, do you not see Apollonius? They answer him—No: but they would be glad to give all the world if they could. It is true,
says

to Tyana a young man who was a fierce disputant, and one not much inclined to listen to the truth. Apollonius was no longer numbered with the living: after this change, great was the opinion abroad of him, and no one presumed to call in question his being immortal. At this time there were many opinions concerning the nature of the soul, for numbers of young men were addicted to philosophical studies. The aforesaid youth not assenting to the doctrine of the immortality, said, all you who are present come and bear witness, that for these ten months past I have prayed to Apollonius to enlighten me on the subject, but I have prayed in vain—he, poor man, is so dead that he has neither appeared, nor attended to my prayers, nor persuaded me that he is immortal. This is the purport of what the young man said. Five days afterwards he resumed the same subject, and fell asleep in the place he had the conversation. Whilst he slept, the rest of the young men, who had been disputing with him, amused themselves, some in reading, and others in describing geometrical figures in the dust. At length the youth, still half asleep, started up like one suddenly seized with madness, and whilst the sweat was running down his body, cried out—*I believe you now*. The people present asked him what was the matter? What, replied he, do you not see *there* the wise Apollonius listening to our disputations, and chanting forth the most wonderful things of the soul? Where is he? they all cried, and why does he not shew himself to us, who wish more to see such a sight than the richest earthly possessions? He seems to have come, said

says he, for he only appears to me, and for my satisfaction, and is invisible to all others. And then he tells them what he had said to him in his sleep concerning the state of souls.

This poor account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is all that this great story affords as to the resurrection of Apollonius.

the youth, for the sake of discoursing solely with me concerning what I was unwilling to believe. Listen then to what he speaks, as it were from a tripod. "The soul is immortal—immortality does not belong to you, but to the goodness of Providence. After the dissolution of the body, the soul like a mettlesome courser, when freed from all restraint, mingles in thin air, impatient of the servile state to which it was subject. But how do these things affect you, who say that the soul does not survive the destruction of the body? why search into such matters you who are like unto the brutes?"—So luminous was the oracle which issued from the tripod of Apollonius, declaring the Arcana of the soul, in order that men fully conscious of their own nature might cheerfully go wherever their Fates direct. I do not remember ever having seen any tomb or cenotaph raised to the honour of the man, though I have gone over most part of the known world, and met in all countries with men who told wonderful things of him. Tyana is held sacred, not being under the jurisdiction* of governors sent from Rome, and Emperors† have not refused him the same honours paid to themselves.

* At what time Tyana received this privilege is not known: when Aurelian took the town—Gibbon says, a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher.

† The Emperor Adrian made a collection of his letters, which he deposited in his palace at Antium. Caracalla honoured him, and built a temple to him as a hero,—and he was in such estimation with Alexander Severus that he had his statue in his private closet.

TILLEMONT.

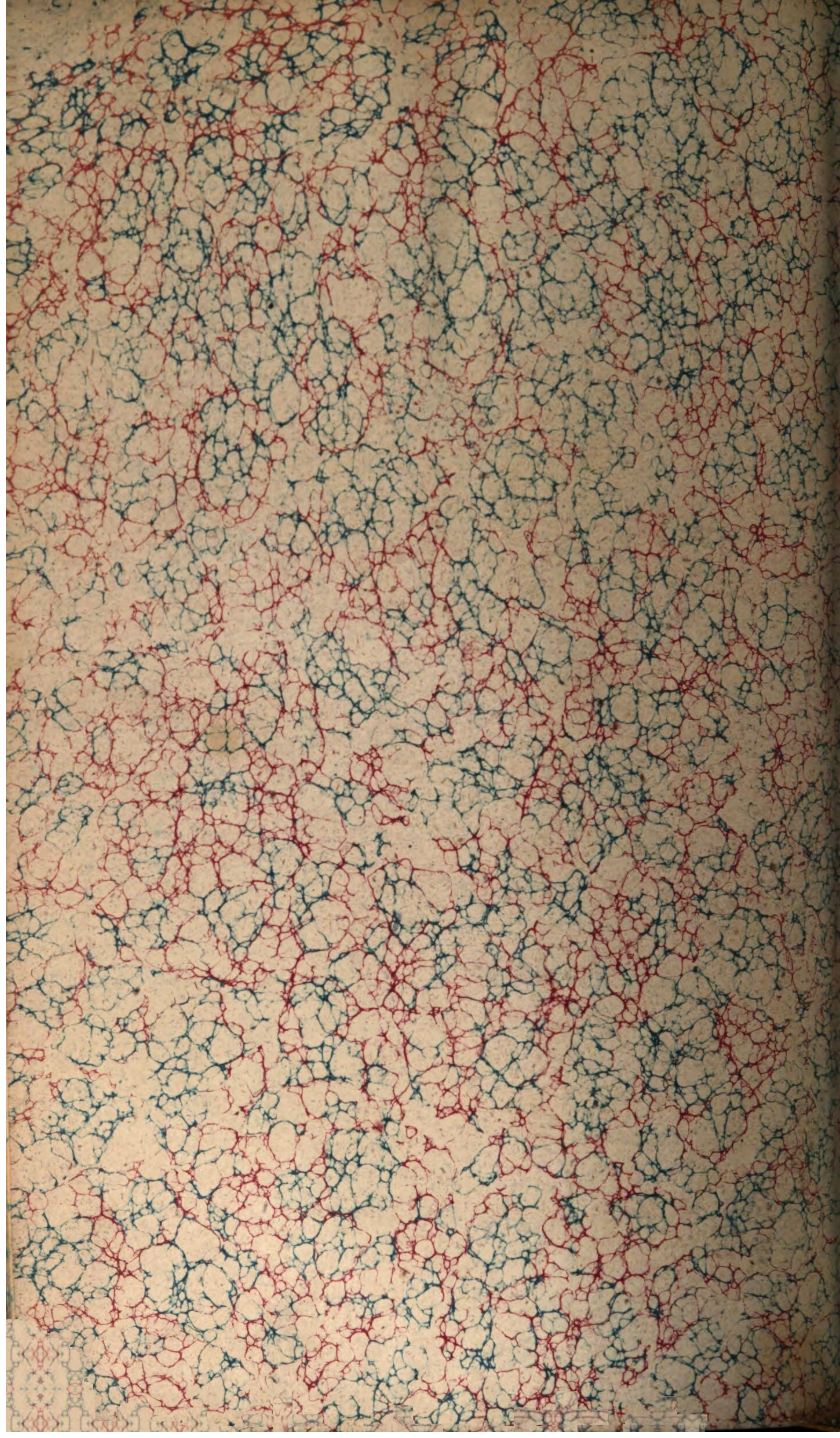
And now upon the review of this whole history, concludes Bishop Parker, it seems evident to me, that this man was so far from being endowed with any extraordinary divine power, that he does not deserve the reputation of an ordinary conjurer: for though Huctius has taken some pains to prove him so, yet he gives no evidence of it besides the
opinion

opinion of the common people; and if that were enough to make a conjurer, there is no man of an odd and singular humour (as Apollonius affected to be) who is not so thought of by the common people. And therefore, when he was accused for it before Domitian, the Emperor upon coming to hear the cause, slighted both him and his accuser, and dismissed him the court for an idle and fantastic fellow. And it is manifest, continues the bishop, from the whole series of his history, that he was a very vain man, and affected to be thought something extraordinary: and so wandered all the world over in an odd garb to be gazed at and admired, and made himself considerable in that age by wit, impudence, and flattery; of all which he had a competent share. And for his wonder-working faculty which he would needs pretend to, he fetched that as far off as the East Indies, that is, the farthest off as he thought from confutation: and yet the account which he has given of those parts is so grossly fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life of imposture and impudence. From whence it appears, says Dr. Lardner, that his history, as told by Philostratus, is fabulous, and not to be relied on, and that Apollonius was not so considerable a person as some have imagined. And I hope I may say, concludes Lardner, that these observations of Dr. Parker do in a great measure confirm those which have been before proposed by me. In fine, the history of Apollonius which is now offered to the public, may be admitted, say the liberal compilers of the New Biographical Dictionary, in concurrence with other collateral evidence, as sufficient testimony, not only that such a man as Apollonius existed, but that he was an eminent philosopher of the Pythagorean sect, who travelled as his master did, through almost every part of the civilized world, exhibiting in his own character, an example of rigid morality, teaching lessons of moral wisdom, and doctrines of speculative philosophy; at the same time attracting popular attention and reverence by pretending to supernatural powers. They add, that it is not easy to separate the impostures of the man from the tales of his biographers; but from the whole narrative just perused, I think with them, that there can be little or no room to doubt, that after the example of Pythagoras, he practised the arts of delusion, and that though with wise men he was a philosopher, among the vulgar he was a magician.

FINIS.

J. M'Creery, Printer,
Black-Horse-court, Fleet-street, London.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
MÜNCHEN



Philostratus, Flavius,

The life of Apollonius of Tyana Translated from the greek of Philostratus

London 1809

A.gr.b. 2463

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10237126-6